- Moin ul Haque
History of Pak

THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Pakistan History Conference

(FIFTH SESSION)

HELD AT

KHAIRPUR

under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

1955

Compiled by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

30, NEW KARACHI CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY

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CONTENTS

HIND PAKISTAN HISTORY SECTION

PREFACE

The Khairpur Session was a great success. It was inaugurated by H. H. Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, the Ruler of the Khairpur State; welcome Address was read by the Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Kizilbash, Chief Minister. The Government of Khairpur State announced a donation of Rs. 10,000/- to the Society. I take this opportunity of thanking the State Government for this donation as well as the hospitality extend to the delegates and other visitors to the Conference.

Karachi: **S. MOINUL HAQ.**

1958.

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Office-Bearers)

President	Mr. Fazlur Rahman.
Vice-President	Dr. I.H. Qureshi Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
Treasurer	Dr. Mahmud Husain
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Mr. Qamaruddin

INAUGURAL SESSION

The inaugural session of the fifth All Pakistan History Conference was held on Monday, the 14th February, 1955, at 3 P.M.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Qur'an. After the recitation the address on behalf of the Reception Committee was read by Mr. M. H. Kizilbash, Chief Minister, Khairpur State and Chairman, Reception Committee.

His Highness Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, Ruler of Khairpur State inaugurated the session of the Conference.

The session of the Conference having been inaugurated, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, President, Pakistan Historical Society, delivered his speech.

On the conclusion of the President's speech Dr. S. Muinul Haq, General Secretary, Pakistan Historical Society read the messages.

The messages having been read, the General President of the Conference, Dr. Mahmud Husain delivered his presidential address.

After the President had delivered his address the session came to a close.

MESSAGES

Embassy
of the Federal Republic of Germany
Karachi, 9th February 1955

It gives me very great pleasure to send my best wishes to the Pakistan History Conference in Khairpur. "I regard history as one of the essential subjects of study particularly in a young country like Pakistan which has to seek its roots in the history of Muslim achievements in the Middle East and in particular in this Sub-continent. I hope that this Conference will contribute to the knowledge of history and will increase the appreciation for the fundamental importance of historical research to the development of mankind."

H. C. Podcyn
German Ambassador

Educational Adviser to the Government of Pakistan
Karachi the February 1. 1955

It gives me great pleasure to send this message of goodwill to the Pakistan Historical Society, which is holding its fifth annual session at Khairpur.

2. It is now well recognised that "learned bodies" have a vital role to play in stimulating thought in the fields of education, science and culture. In a new State like Pakistan their task is particularly important. It is for this reason that since the establishment of Pakistan, a number of "learned bodies" have been set up.

3. The Pakistan History Society, like many others, is still in a stage of infancy. Nevertheless, during its short life of less than 5 years it has put in a good record of work. Besides organising annual assemblies of historians, the Society has also made a beginning with the work of publishing books. The Urdu translation of Ailam-ul-Islam has already appeared and the English version of "A Short History of Hind-Pakistan," prepared by the Pakistan History Board, is in the Press. But the most creditable achievement of the Society is the publication of a research Journal which, I am happy to learn, has attained an international status and is regarded as one of the leading quarterlies of this country.

4. Evidently, this is only the beginning, for the Society has a vast field to cover and an important role to play in our national reconstruction. In particular, it has to resuscitate and refashion Islamic thought so that we may be in a position to lay the foundations of our life on our past traditions as interpreted in the present day requirements. It is in this sphere of national life that the Pakistan Historical Society can render a valuable service to the Nation. Historical research leading to the growth and expansion of knowledge is a big achievement in itself, but in modern life it has become indispensable and needs encouragement support, both from the Government and the people.

5. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Pakistan Historical Society is in capable and devoted hands and continues to make steady progress.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Sharif

Peshawar, 3.2. 1955

Dear Prof. Moinul Haq,

The Italian legation wrote to me that you were interested in having a communication of mine for the V Session of the *Pakistan Historical Conference* in Khairpur. I feel honoured for that insertation, and I send to you some notes on the History of Muslim and Arabic studies in Italy during the Middle Ages of course, due to the fact that reference works and materials in Italian are not available here, I was not able to add foot-notes references etc. I hope however that my short paper may be of some use for your Conference, in which I unfortunately cannot take part personally, as I have to deliver various lectures here, in Lahore and in Dacca still. I take this occasion to send to you and all your co-workers my best greetings and wishes for the best success of your conference.

Yours truly
A. Bausani

۲۶ جنوری ۱۹۵۷ء

محترم!

السلام علیکم

دعوت نامہ پہنچا تھا یادفرمائی کے لئے دلی شکریہ قبول فرمائیے تقریباً انہی تاریخوں میں ''جمیعتہ علماء ہند'' کا سالانہ اجلاس کلکتہ میں ہورہا ہے، افسوس ہے، میں ''پاکستان ہسٹری کانفرنس'' میں شریک نہ ہوسکوں گا' جہاں تک کانفرنس کا تعلق ہے اسکی کامیابی کے لئے دعا کرتا ہوں اور ہر مناسب خدمت کے لئے حاضر ہوں، اسطرح کے اجتماعات کا انعقاد ہر حیثیت سے مفید ہے، نہ صرف مفید ہے، بلکہ ہم ان اجتماعات کے ذریعہ سے دونوں ملکوں کی زبردست تعمیری خدمت بھی کرسکتے ہیں، بشرطیکہ احتیاط اور انصاف کا دامن مضبوطی سے تھامے رہیں، ماضی سے سبق لیکرہی مستقبل کی صحیح تعمیر ہوسکتی ہے اور بلند پایہ ارباب علم اور اصحاب تحقیق سے بجا طور پر یہ توقع کی جاسکتی ہے کہ وہ اپنے مرتبے کی نزاکت کا پورے طور پر احساس فرمائینگے اور اسطرح کے اجتماعات کو حقیقی معنی میں تاریخی اجتماعات بنادینگے۔

فقط والسلام

عتیق الرحمان عثمانی

ADDRESSES

AND

SPEECHES

Delivered at the Inaugural Session

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

By

THE HON'BLE MR. M. H. KIZILBASH

Chief Minister, Khairpur State

and

Chairman Reception Committee

Your Highness, Mr. President, Ladies & Gentlemen,

As Chairman of the Reception Committee it is my privilege to extend a warm and cordial welcome to all the delegates and guests who have taken the trouble to come here to attend the 5th session of the Pakistan History Conference. I do so with the greatest pleasure on behalf of the members of the Reception Committee, as well as on my own behalf. I also wish to convey my own as well as the Reception Committee's grateful thanks to His Highness, Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, Ruler of Khairpur State, for very kindly accepting our request to inaugurate the Conference. We are very happy and indeed honoured by the Pakistan Historical Society's acceptance of our invitation to hold the fifth session of the Conference here.

Historically Khairpur is not without its romance, its ruling Mirs being in the direct line of the former rulers of Sind who belong to the historic Baloch tribe of the Talpurs, and claim descent from the Arabs of Arabia. They established their rule over Sind by overthrowing the despotic Kalhoras in 1786 and are proud of their defiance of the Afghans whom they later also defeated. It was in

1832 that Khairpur emerged as a separate State under a progressive branch of Talpur rulers. Khairpur started like any other Princely State of former British India but it was destined to develop its administrative set-up in a manner which brought it nearly in line very early with the other provinces of the sub-continent. Meanwhile an increasing awareness among the people of the need for a representative type of administration kept growing apace. It was in deference to such wishes as the people were able to express from time to time that reforms were introduced in the State early in 1947 and again in 1949 and 1953. The present constitution under the Government of Khairpur Act of 1953 has made the State fully democratic and today the entire Legislative Assembly of 30 members is popularly elected. The Ruler's powers have been brought within the scope of responsible Government and he enjoys the status of a Constitutional Head. I am happy to add that the Ruler His Highness Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur, young, Cambridge-educated, and forward-looking, is himself most popular and has always identified himself with the aspirations of the people, and has welcomed and encouraged their march towards the goal of full responsible Government.

It would be appropriate for me to mention briefly in passing the recent economic and social advance that the State had made. For the test and justification of our parliamentary institutions will lie ultimately in the extent they are the means of improving the social condition of the people. The 20th century has made familiar the idea of the Welfare State which spelled out means the largest measure of social and economic justice, equality and happiness to the largest number of people. We in Khairpur have directed our attention wholly to making Khairpur a Welfare State in the shortest possible time. Khairpur is the first unit in Pakistan to introduce successfully free and compulsory primary education in the whole of the State. In fact education is free to all right up to the Matriculation and so is the provision of books and board and lodging facilities in our hostels. Liberal funds have been provided for grant of scholarships for higher education. Arrangements are being finalized for establishing a degree college from the new session. The State has taken the initiative in

introducing military training in secondary schools in order to develop discipline and character among the boys and inspire in them a spirit of civic and national responsibility. Today over 1,000 senior students in all the secondary schools are undergoing military training. Medical aid is also provided free to all throughout the State. The most striking development is the shift from a purely agricultural economy to an industrial one. This is reflected in the rapidly advancing financial prosperity of the State, e.g. the budgeted income has trebled since independence increasing from a little ever Rs. 54½ lakhs six years ago to over Rs. 150 lakhs in the years 1953-54 and 1954-55, an increase of 260%, which is the highest in the country. Similarly Khairpur has the highest per-capita distributiou of budgeted income. It is Rs. 47/- for the current year whereas in the other units of Pakistan it is not more than Rs. 20/-. Nationalized industry is contributing a major share of this increase whereas land revenue, which is ultimately a burden on agriculture is being progressively reduced. Last year we cut down permanently land revenue assessment by 25%, a thing in itself unprecedented in the country. The State's two major nationalized industrial concerns are the Textile Mill and the Virginia Tobacco Redrying Factory. Both these enterprises are of a high standard and among the best in the country. Redrying Tobacco Factory is in fact the first purely Pakistani venture of its kind. Other industries include the Ismail Textile Mill, the Fakir Textile Mill, the Match Factory, the Handloom Woollen Blanket Factory, the Lukman Silk Weaving Works, the Banarsi Silk Works, the Leather Tannery, a number of ginning factories and ice factories, and a few other enterprises. We are constantly planning for the setting up of new industries, and an extensive programme of industrial development is in hand. In keeping with the State's policy to improve agricultural conditions and revitalise rural life a Village Community Development programme was started last year, and we have already observed a striking awakening among the rural folk. Work has been started in several villages where Village Councils have taken the initiative in programme of self-help. The construction of Farmer's Clubs has been started by the villagers themselves on their own initiative, and with their own resources, which include voluntary manual labour. Literacy schools for adults are being opened and at

extensive programme for the development of improved poultry farming has been in progress for sometime.

Khairpur has thus forged ahead in all aspects of economic and social development. An old Gazetteer described Khairpur town as a place "covered with gaudy lacquered tiles of various hues, situated in the midst of the bazar, and presenting little worthy of notice." I hope after you have seen a bit of Khairpur you will find the above description interesting chiefly by way of contrast !

Not being a historian I cannot presume to encroach on the learned deliberations which distinguished scholars of history will shortly enter after his Highness has inaugurated the Conference. Nevertheless, indirectly, I have been impressed again and again in several ways by the importance of history. As one keenly interested in education, I have realised only too well the inadequacy of our history text-books and history teaching in schools and colleges : as one concerned with the affairs of State, in the administrative, political and constitutional fields, I again feel the lack of a historical base. How truly it has been said that politics without history has no root.' This is all the more pertinent for us today when we are a separate sovereign nation and yet without a proper history we are like a nation without a soul. No wonder politicians still grapple with attempts to produce a constitution, even though we are in the eighth year of Pakistan. How can the country's politics bear fruit when the country's historians have failed to give it any root. I refer to these matters in passing in order to emphasise the vital role of history in the proper development and survival of a nation. And since as Muslims we have traditions and values which extend across geographical and political boundaries, history has an even greater and nobler role to play in the evolution and preservation of an ideology. Thus it is evident that history is not the concern of historians alone ; it effects the destiny of nations and the fate of millions.

Fortunately, though we feel the lack at present of great historians there is no dearth of material from which good historians and good history is made. Islam it has been rightly pointed out was

born in the full light of history, unlike other religions which were cradled in mystery. The compilation of the chronologically arranged hadith is no doubt the oldest historical work of Islam. One cannot but admire the meticulous care, the indefatigable industry, and the warm faith with which these early traditionists sifted, verified and reverified the sayings of the Prophet. Every statement was traced back to its ultimate source, that is, to an eye-witness, and every link in the long chain of authorities was verified from the most diverse sources. If genius is the infinite capacity to take pains; if genius is 99 per cent perspiration, here was genius of a very high order.

These men had a passion for collecting facts, for knowing the true facts, and they concentrated all their prodigious efforts in that single direetion. But chronology is not history and facts are only the tools of the historian like bricks for the architect and the mason. The pioneers in the initiation of historical research came later. Such men were Al-Masudi, Al-Beruni and a number of others. Masudi has been described as "the Muslim Herodotus". These writers were the first to elevate a study of the past from mere chronology to history as we understand it today. Ibn Khaldun, who came much later was indeed the greatest historical philosopher of all time. Our historians are therefore in very good company and can set out on their task with a just sense of pride and confidence in the achievements of their illustrious predecessors.

The Pakistan Historical Society has rightly addressed itself specifically to the study of "Islamic History" and "Indo-Pakistan History". A third study, an off shoot of the latter, is thc compilation of the History of the Pakistan Freedom Movement. The division of these titles is I hope no more than a matter of 'administrative convenience', because we all readily accept now that history cannot be compartmentalised. Even the part to be rightly understood must be seen in the context of the whole. A historian, it has been well said, has to be somewhat like an Arsitotelian god who

can contemplate all existence at one glance, or I may say he should be like Shakespeare's poet, whose

"............. eye in a fine frenzy rolling

Doth glance from heav'n to earth, from earth to heav'n."

If someone says, that is the way to make history impossible, my answer would be: that it is the only way to make history intelligible. History is a most difficult vocation: it requires the passion, the application and the breadth of vision of a great mind.

In regard to the study of Islamic History I would like to venture a suggestion. It is the undertaking of a careful, systematic and deep-rooted study of the causes of the decline of Islamic civilization and influence. This study would be extremely appropriate and timely in view of the increasing attention given by distinguished Western authors (Spengler and Toynbee among several others) to what they regard as the 'decline of Western Civilization'. Attempts of this nature in the Islamic field have been many both by past and present writers. Western and Eastern, Muslim and non-Muslim. But practically all these efforts have been casual, incidental, inadequate, and quite often prejudiced, when the writer was a non-Muslim. It will not be enough to examine the vitality or otherwise of religious faith, and the degrees of difference between precept and practice; various social, economic, political, psychological, geographical and other factors will have to be taken into consideration. Western writers on Isiamic History have further complicated the task of Muslim writers by introducing various concepts which are holly Western and completely alien to Islam. I may refer for instance to the concept of "Church vs. State", or "secular vs. theocratic," and so on. These terms have no application whatsoever to Islamic society. And yet already a world of mischief has been done by these very terms, so much so that even a growing number of educated Muslims in many coun-

tries have begun to believe that there may after all be some truth in them.

In the Indo-Pakisten field the manner in which history was distorted and made a tool to serve the end of the British occupation are too well-known to bear repetition. The text-books that we were made to read have been aptly described by one of our most distinguished historians as 'libels on the noble art of history from every point of view." The 'history' of that period was written in order to serve two main objectives; firstly, to show Muslim rule in India in its blackest hue, so as to completely break the moral fibre of the Muslims and destroy their self-respect and dignity, secondly, to show Muslim rulers as opressors of Hindus, so as to create division and hatred between the two communities. The contributions of Islam to India can still be written in letters of gold, and not the least of these contributions was the toleration and co-operation which was established between Muslim and the other non-Muslim Indian communities. In the same way I have no doubt Muslims too have gained by their contact with India. Therefore, Indo-Pakistan historical studies need to be taken up in right earnest, not only to correct the mischiefs of the past, but also to forge better understanding and relations in the future, for India and Pakistan will always need each other's co-operation.

There is however a general warning which our historians might well give to themselves when they set about their test to re-write Islamic or Indo-Pakistan history. They will have to fight a somewhat natural temptation to answer abuse with abuse, and unpalatable truths with denials and contradictions. Muslims in the course of history have like other peoples made numerous mistakes; if they have done deeds that are worthy of shame, the objective historian cannot gloss over them, though he can, following in the footsteps of Ibn Khaldun, seek niether to praise nor to blame, but to know, to grasp the laws that govern the development of human institutions and not to pass value judgements on

these institutions. I am reminded of Sir Henry Wotton's well-known quip about the Ambasador being "*an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.*" No true historians can however distort history "*for the good of his country,*" nor can he accept the advice Louis XI was reputed to have given to one of his diplomats: "*If they lie to you, you lie still more to them*"!

No one who is keen to see historical studies promoted in the proper manner can fail to note the sad lack of incentives and facilities available in our country for the purpose. Books are the foremost tools of historical research yet little attention seems to have been given to the establishment of suitable libraries in the main towns and universities. Facilities of travel and field surveys are also lacking. Besides teachers in schools and colleges are miserably paid, they are hardly in a position to cultivate scholarly habits, when even the buying of a book would be a luxury. It is idle, to presume that under such conditions true historical inquiry and research can be carried on. In the ultimate analysis a country will be judged not by its industrial output but by the output of its scholars and savants. The Pakistan Historical Society will have to apply itself seriously to the problem of giving a fair chance to the student of history to pursue his vocation with zeal.

I am conscious of having taken more time than I should have, and I thank you for your indulgence.

I have yet to express to the delegates my apologies for the defeciencies of our hospitality, and for the lack of adequate arrangements for their accommodation. Khairpur Mir's is a small town, the facilities available here are proportionately limited. When we invited the Pakistan Historical Society to hold the 5th session of the Conference here, we knew only too well that our hearts were more accommodating than our buildings. In that spirit we invited you, and we are honoured by your presence.

In that spirit we request you to forgive us for the inconveniences you may have suffered, although on our part we are trying our best to make your stay here both comfortable and happy.

May I now request Your Highness to kindly inaugurate the Conference.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

H. H. MIR ALI MURAD KHAN TALPUR
Ruler of Khairpur State

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Pakistan Historical Society has done me great honour by asking me to inaugurate the fifth session of the History Conference. I accepted their offer with pleasure and thank the members and office-bearers of the Historical Society for their kind invitation.

I am very glad that the fifth session of the Pakistan History Conference is being held here. Khairpur has played a big role in the past. More than a hundred and fifty years ago my ancestors ruled Sind, which then extended far beyond its present confines. A few years later the Khairpur State as you see it today emerged as a separate entity. My own approach to the history of these parts, as you would readily agree, is rather too personal and even emotional

I know that the last four sessions of the Conference were held in Karachi, Lahore, Dacca and Peshawer, and I regret we have none of the joys and amenities which those cities have provided you. Speaking for my town I would like to express the hope that you will have, here, the peace and quiet that is essential for such useful discussions. There will be no occasion here I trust to repeat the story of a man attending a conference in Paris, who complained that he had no time to attend its sessions as there was

so much to see in Paris during the day and so much to drink at night!

Social and economic factors play a vital role in the making of history, and I am sure you will also be glad to acquaint yourself with the endeavours we have made here in the field of education, industries and other welfare activities.

Besides, there are reputed to be some pre-historic sites in the State............which is not at all surprising in view of the proximity of Mohenjo-Daro. These might be of interest to you. A great Arab historian has said: "The past resembles the future as water resembles water", and an inquiry into the past cannot fail to make the present and the future more meaningful to living generations.

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the fifth session of the Pakistan History Conference, and wish you success in your great work.

SPEECH

By

MR. FAZLUR RAHMAN

President Pakistan Historical Society

On behalf of the members of the Pakistan Historical Society I thank His Highness the Mir of Khairpur and Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Qazilbash, the chief minister of the state, for inviting the Society to hold the fifth session of the Conference here. Khairpur and its rulers have in the past taken an active interest in the cultural activities of the Sub-continent before partition, and of Pakistan since its creation. It is therefore in keeping with its brilliant traditions that the State afforded this opportunity to the historians of Pakistan and the members of the Society to assemble in its capital for their deliberations.

The Pakistan Historical Society was set up in 1950 and has now been in existence for just over four years. It would be unnecessary here in the presence of the distinguished historians of the country to emphasize the need of having a society for the promotion of historical studies and the regulation and conduct of research. In other countries there are numerous literary Societies and academics devoted to the cause of historical research. In our neighbouring country of Bharat, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Indian History Congress and the Oriental Conference, to name only a few, have been carrying on historical research for a considerable time. But in Pakistan we have to build up our institutions

anew and have to rely on our own resources, however meagre they might be.

Every advanced country has the advantage of having libraries and collections of original records, and thus provides a research worker with manuscripts, documents and other necessary source-material. The hopes of carrying on high class research in our country will remain 'pious' until we have adequate collections of research material and fairly good libraries for reference.

The Pakistan Historical Society has an extensive field to cover. There being no other institution in the country having similar objects, it has to carry its burden of work single-handed. Besides, we propose to build the social and political structure of our life on purely Islamic ideals. The study of our history alone—history in its most comprehensive sense—can imbibe in our people the true spirit of our civilization and culture and enable them to contribute to the building up of a world-civilization based on the Islamic ideals. It is therefore necessary for us to present our past history in its true perspective so that our leaders may be in a position to know wither and on what paths they have to carry their people. It is here that the scholar of history comes to the aid of the nation and from a practical point of view it is in this field that our historians can usefully serve the country.

Coming to actual facts we have to consider the definite lines on which our historians have to begin their work. During the last two centuries the educational system in the Sub continent was under the thorough control of foreign and bureaucratic government, and research as such remained a neglected item of our cultural life. But now we can proceed with freedom with the task of carrying on research in various branches of science and humanities. As far as history is concerned our main task would centre round the re-writing of the history of Islam with a view to present it in its true perspective fully emphasizing its universal and comprehensive character. Islam was not a mere religion in the narrow sense of the word : it was a world movement—a movement based on permanent values of life and a movement aiming at raising men to his fullest

stature. This is why emphasis has been laid on the point that Islam is a continuous movement and the rightly-guided people are believers in the truth which was revealed to the prophet and also in that which had been revealed earlier.

As in theory so in practice the Prophet and his followers amply demonstrated the fact that Islam was a world-movement. No other movement known to history assumed a world wide character with greater rapidity or success than Islam. The Muslims of early generations were missionaries *par excellence* who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause which they held so dear. Everybody knows that during the period of the pious caliphs the expansion of Islam continued with remarkable speed but its conquest and wars were entirely different from the ordinary wars of kings. The Muslims fought for a cause and not for the acquisition of land. Wherever the muslim conquerers went they made a deep impression upon the conquered people and treated them with a consideration which was almost inconceiveable. Consider for a moment the instructions given by the first caliph to the youthful general Usama, and you will note the difference between the wars fought by the Muslims and other peoples: "See" said the caliph, "that thou avoid treachery and deceit. Depart not in any wise from the right. Thou shalt mustilate none; neither shalt thou kill child or aged men, nor any woman. Injure not the date-palm, neither burn it with fire and cut not down any tree wherein is food for man or beast. Slay not of the flocks or herds or camels, saving for needful sustenance." These were not empty words, for in the early centuries of Islam we find the Muslim conquerors and statesmen treating the vanquished enemy with a tolerance and consideration which was unknown to history and which more than any other single factor brought nation after nation whithin the fold of Islam.

Even during the periods of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphates which were undoubtedly characterised by monarchical tradition and tendencies we find that the cause of Islam was always held supreme. They quarrelled among themselves for dynastic

supremacy or even for personal interests but never do we find any one of them denying the authority of Islam. It was during the Umayyad regime that the supremacy of Islam extended into distant lands. Qutaybah's conquest in Central Asia, Muhammad bin Qasim's campaign of Sind, and Musa and Tariq's victories in Spain carried the banners of Islam to Samarqand and Bukhara in the east, the banks of the Indus in the south and the coast of Atlantic Ocean in the West. From a military point of view these conquests were remarkable enough, but what strikes us most is the fact that they were marked neither by those atrocities which where characteristic of the age, nor did they end with the establishment of the rule on the conqueror or his family, the reason being that those extensive campaigns were motivated by a desire for the expansion of Islam or Islamic civilization. The war achieved political supremacy but it was the superiority of the principles of Islam, the tolerant attitude of the conquerors and the missionary zeal of the Muslims that brought the masses of the people to the fold of the new faith. The tolerant and beneficial rule of the Muslim conquerors and the missionary activities of selfless preachers proved to be effective in spreading Islam, particularly because the systems prevailing in the conquered territories were devoid of social justice and equality, and economic and political freedom.

The teachings of Islam had given to its followers a unique character which deeply impressed the other nations and led to their acceptance of the faith. There is no doubt that the zeal for spreading Islam which characterized the Muslims of the earlier centuries subsided with the passage of time, but even the later generations did not abandon the central idea that the cause of Islam was supreme. No Muslim ruler ever challenged the supremacy of the law or claimed the power of legislation. What they did claim for them and what could be considered permissible was the power of interpretation. There are numerous illustrations in the history of Islam to show that even the most autocratic prince could not conceive of himself being above the law. The famous traveller Ibn Battutah tells us that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq appeared

in the court of the qadi in three cases and in all the cases the judgment of the court was against the king. It may be added that one of the litigants was a Hindu. It is possible we may not agree with the interpretation of a particular law by a particular prince or his legal adviser but the supremacy of the Shari'ah has always remained unchallenged. Even 'Ala-al-Din Khalji who has been "credited" by some writers for secularizing the state could not go beyond the limits of the Sharl'ah. When the qadi of Bayanah once pointed out to him that some of his ordinances were against the Law he pleaded his ignorance and said that God would consider his action in the light of his good intentions. What is to be noted in this case is that he did not claim the power of overriding the Shari'ah.

I would like to mention one more case—that of Akbar. He was a free-thinker and had introduced measures which hit the interests of Islam but even then he was guilty of violating and not of abolishing the Shari'ah laws. But Akbar's case was an exception and perhaps a reaction to the bigotry of a few religious leaders who happened to be in power at the time.

The Muslim period in the history of the Sub-continent has so far been studied as an isolated chapter of the history of the Muslims and therefore has never been presented as an extension of Islamic civilization But in fact it is a part of the same world-movement of Islam to which reference has been made earlier. In our books on Indian history we occasionally come across incidents showing our contacts with other parts of the world of Islam, but this is not enough. I would suggest therefore that our historians should re-write the history of Muslim rule in the Sub-continent keeping in view the fact that it is a part and parcel of the history of Islam. There is no doubt that this would require on the part of our scholars superior equipment and studies on a much wider scale than what we have at present, but in view of the importance of the problem we must begin this work immediately. I would urge upon the Society to consider the steps that have to be taken in this connection and to frame a scheme for this.

I would like to say a word about the *Journal* which has just entered the third year of its life. I have no hesitation in saying that I feel proud of the fact that within the short space of two years the *Journal* has attained an international status and is being counted among the leading magazines of the East. This is indicated by the fact that we have among our contributors scholars of world-wide reputation and also that some of the well-known historical and cultural Journals of foreign countries are received by us in exchange for our *Journal*. But it is surprising that in our country it has not been receiving the encouragement that it deserves. Even the teachers of history in our universities and colleges do not subscribe for it; with the result that the major portion of our income is consumed by it. I appeal to all those who are interested in historical studies to popularize it so that the funds of the Society spent on it may be directed towards the publication of books and research works.

As to the definite schemes of research and publications that we have before us as well as the work done during the course of the year the report of the General Secretary will give you all necessary information, but I would like to mention here that we are anxious to undertake the preparation of a comprehensive biography of the Holy Prophet based on the most authentic sources and written on modern and scientific lines. This is an ambitious scheme and will require substantial funds, for besides collecting a large number of books and photo-stats or microfilmed copies of manuscripts and documents it would be necessary to secure the cooperation of all those scholars who have done research on this subject in whatever part of the world they may be and to whatever nationality they might belong. I am confident that if we launch a campaign for this purpose the response will be encouraging because all sections of people realize the need and importance of a comprehensive and authentic biography of the Prophet which will become a reference book for scholars and a source-book for the compilers of short monographs and text-books. An elaborate scheme shall have to be framed for this project and we propose to prepare the same and place it before the Society as soon as we are able to take some

practical steps in the collection of funds. I would however appeal to the scholars, and other people interested in the scheme to send their suggestions to the Society.

In conclusion I again thank His Highness the Ruler of Khairpur and his Chief Minister for inviting the Conference and appeal to them to extend their generous hand of support to its schemes,

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. MAHMUD HUSAIN, PH. D.

Ladies & Gentlemen,

I am grateful for the great honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the fifth session of the Pakistan History Conference. Coming as it dose from fellow historians I value it very highly indeed and can only attribute it to their overwhelming kindness and generosity. For a teacher of history in Pakistan it is difficult to think of a greater honour. I thank you most sincerely.

I may be permitted on this occasion to make a few observations on the state of historical studies and research in our country and in the light of these observations to offer certain suggestions to the workers in the field.

First let us take the teaching of history in Pakistan. The partition of the sub-continent was in effect a revolution. It could not but cause dislocation in the various departments of life. The educational system which had been dominated by non-Muslims received a tremendous shock. The teaching of history could not escape its effects. It will be difficult in a brief address to discuss all the various aspects of the problem of historical studies covering as it does such a wide ground. I propose to select for discussion only a few topics such as the planning of the syllabus, the securing of qualified teachers and last but not least the organizing of research.

The history syllabus differs from University to University. But on the whole certain factors may be said to be common.

Apart from our own history, the syllabi of the various Universities usually provide papers on English and European history. They seldom take cognisance of the rising nations of Asia or the two great nations which dominate the present age—U. S. A. and the Soviet Union. Although there is a good deal to learn from modern Europe and England, they are no more the centre of the Universe as they were at one stage. It is high time this change was reflected in the syllabi of our Universities. Similarly the nations of Asia and Africa are coming into their own and their history particularly of the world of Islam, deserves especial attention in the Universities of Pakistan. Another defect of the various syllabi is that they emphasise political and constitutional developments to the neglect of economic, social and cultural history. Yet it is these aspects which are in many ways the more important.

I am somewhat skeptical of specialisation at the under-graduate level, and yet there is this tendency in our country. In our enthusiasm for our own history, which is laudable, we sometimes think that it is quite sufficient for our under-graduates to know their own past. The knowledge of other peoples and civilizations is regarded as superfluous. This policy has its dangers. It is not enough to know what we ourselves were. We must also know what others were. For instance, to learn the history of Islam without reference to the medieval history of Europe or Asia is, to say the least, not a very satisfactory way of studying the subject. Indeed for an under-standing of Islamic history and appreciating the greatness of Islam itself it is essential that it should be studied in the light of the contemporary history of other parts of the world. As things are in our country, M. A. seems to me to be the right stage for specialzation. At a lower level what is needed is an introduction to as many branches of history as may be feasible. There should be, of course, plenty of choice for the students in the form of alternative papers to satisfy differennt tastes and interests. At the post-graduate level there should be at least half a dozen groups of which students should be able to select one for specializ-

ed study. This I think would be a better plan than the over-specialisation at the Intermediate or B. A. stage and the hotch-potch we sometimes have at the M. A. stage. Another aspect of the syllabus that deserves modification is that to-day numerous types of combinations of subjects are permissible. Very often one subject has nothing to do with the other. Combination should take into account the allied nature of subjects. And for the Honours students in History only allied and connected subjects should be allowed as subsidiaries.

Whatever the syllabus, in the long run it is the teacher on whom depends its success or failure. To-day there is a dearth of qualified men ; and when qualified men are forthcoming they are not always given the encouragement and recognition they deserve. It is a matter of regret that in four out of six Universities of Pakistan either there is no full-fledged professorship of history of the post has been vacant since long. The brighter type of graduates are to-day seldom attracted towards the Universities. The emoluments offered by Business and Government are much higher and chances of promotion there much greater. If Universities are to attract the right type of persons they will have to revise the scales of emoluments and devise of ways and means of increasing the salaries of teachers on the basis of research and teaching qualities shown by them after entering the service. To improve the qualifications of the staff liberal, even generous, rules of study leave are a necessity. The Universities can, I think, also afford to send every year a batch of teachers to foreign seats of learning and research for further study. It is true that during the last few years many of our young men got scholarships from the Central or Provincial Governments for study abroad. But these were mostly scientific and technical men. Arts, with the possible exception of Economics, were usually ignored. If the teaching in our Universities is to improve, it is essential that the Universities themselves offer opportunities to their teachers for improving their qualifications.

I have particularly noticed that the standard of teaching in Modern History and the history of civilizations other than our

own is continuously going down. This is the consequence largely of the tendency of our teachers to specialize in Indo-Pakistan or Islamic history. For obvious reasons there is great scope for research in these fields and, situated as we are, hardly any in other branches of History. Still it is necessary to make proper arrangements for the teaching of these branches. This can be done if some of our budding historians were to proceed to U. K. or U. S. for an Honours degree in History. Universities such as Oxford, Cambridge and Havard offer excellent opportunities for training in these fields. If the Universities of Pakistan are to possess a balanced staff for the teaching of History they cannot neglect this any more, or else we shall all be specializing in Indo-Muslim or Islamic History and competent teaching in other branches of History would become next to impossible.

Now I would like to say a word about research. Today research plays as vital a role as teaching itself, and in certain respects, its significance is much greater. We all know that in Hind-Pakistan the idea of giving research a proper place in the educational system is not very old. Under the British rule the educational policy was formulated and controlled by considerations that did not promote the cause of research. The atmosphere conducive to research was just not there. Research was not considered to be the function of the Universities. What-ver little was done in the field of historical research was done outside the four-walls of the Universities. As late as 1929 the Hartog Committee referred to research in India in these words : " Ten years ago, the amount of original work carried on in Indian universities was small. The Report of the Calcutta University Commission showed that a beginning had been made in Bengal, but it was only a beginning. " (Chapter IV, section 29. p. 138). Turning to the indigenous system of education we find that here too the decline of the political supremacy of the Muslims and the growth of anarchic conditions had created an extremely unfavourable atmosphere for advanced studies. Of course we do come across occasionally great scholars like Shah Wali-allah or his sons carrying on research in their private schools or seminaries, but they were exceptions rather than the rule.

In the twentieth century and specially after the First World War we notice marked changes in the educational and cultural out look of the peoples of Hind-Pakistan. One of these changes was the expansion of university education and the widening of its scope. It was about this time that research began to make its way into the educational system and some of the leading universities made arrangements for advanced studies in Science as well as important subjects on the Arts' side. Among these subjects History, of course, has occupied a prominent place. To-day, practically all the Universities in Bharat and Pakistan have provision for research in history. Besides the universities certain other bodies are in the field.

By its very nature research is an expensive venture. But its importance is now realized throughout the world. For historical research what we require most is source-material and well-equipped libraries.

It would not be out of place to make a broad survey of the posssibilities of historical research in Pakistan. It is a well-known fact that from the outset the Muslims evinced a keen interest in the study of history and developed it on scientific lines. In the Sub-continent also they started writing histories, general as well as regional and dynastic. The ruling princes and nobles also had a liking for it and their patronage led to the compilation of what have sometimes been called official histories and court chronicles. In the alied branches of literature the *malfuzat* and biographies of the sufis constitute an important group Then we have the *tadkirahs* and compositions of the poets. In short the Muslims of medieval Hind Pakistan have left a great mass of literature—directly historical or indirectly so—which awaits examination. This can very suitably form the basis of our research.

It is evident that the major portion of this source-material now belongs to the neighbour country Bharat, but even what we have in our own country cannot be considered negligible. In addition to the well-known University Library and Public Library of the Punjab, which contain a large number of manuscripts on Indo-pak history, we have quite respectable collections of original works

and documents in the university libraries of Peshawar, and Dacca. The Sind and Karachi University libraries are also trying to build uy their own collections of manuscripts etc. But perhaps more important, although smaller in size are the private and individual collections which are scattered all over the country. As far as I know none of these collections has been fully utilized by our scholars, nor have their contents been catalogued scientifically. The owners of these collections, I am sure, will extend their fullest co-operation if a proper approach is made to them. The preparation of detailed and descriptive catalogues should undoubtedly be the first step. It would not be easy for the individual owners of these collections to have them catalogued, even if they are willing to provide the necessary funds they cannot easily secure the services of experts for the purpose. Similarly there are very few learned societies in this country which would either be interested or would have adequate means at their disposal to undertake the task. At present the Pakistan Historical Society is perhaps the only society which could take up this work, but as we all know it has extremely limited funds. The major portion of its income is spent on the Jourual; it is with difficulty that it has been able to manage the publication of an Urdu book this year. But I have no doubt that if the owners of the collections offer to co-operate with the Society and the monied men strengthen its financial position it could without difficulty take up the work of the preparation of catalogues.

Let me add here a word about the responsibilities of our universities in this connection. Considering the size and population of Pakistan we have very few institutions of higher study and the number of teachers is small and, therefore, teaching work is proportionately heavy. Our educational system is also responsible for this to a certain extent. Anyway, the result is that our university teacher has to spend his time and energy on teaching to such an extent that he can hardly devote himself to research. The utmost that he can do is to direct his research students and make them do something substantial in the form of their thesis for degree. The teacher who has the ripeness necessary for good work

does not have enough time to devote to research. In the interest of advanced studies it is, therefore, necessary that University teachers are allowed more time and opportunities to carry on research and as an encouragement they should be given due credit for their labour.

Lastly reference may be made to some of the departments of Government which can render direct help in the furtherence of historical research. The National Archives and the records Departments of various provinces contain valuable source-material, but these are not being fully utilized by our scholars. Immediate steps should be taken to bring them within the reach of the students of history. This can be done through the preparation of their catalogues. I know it is a stuendous task but a beginning has to be made some time. Why not begin now ? The compilation and printing of the catalogues will take a long time, but as an interim solution simple lists could by cyclostyled and placed at the disposal of universities and learned societies.

However ample the source-material we possess and whatever its importance there is no denying the fact that much of the source-material is to be found outside Pakistan, particularly in Bharat and in England. Not only are these countries extremely rich in historical manuscripts of the Muslim period of the history of Hind-Pakistan and Islamic history in general, they between them possess the most important source-material for the British period of history. With the exception of the records that are to be found in Lahore and Peshawar for most of the things a student of the British period is dependent on Delhi and London. By microfilming these manuscripts in Persian and records in English it should be possible to secure these valuable source-materials for Pakistan. We in the University of Karachi have already obtained the microfilms of the more important manuscripts pertaining to Indo-Muslim history in the British Museum, the India Office Library, the Bodliean etc Other universities and learned bodies could do the same As to records of the modern or British period of our history, this seems to me the only possible plan. Microfilming is quite an economical way of reproducing documents. Even

old newspaper files and rare printed works may be secured in this manner. I commend this method of building up History libraries to our universities and learned societies.

I may add that we have enough of source-material in our country but most of it lies scattered and unexplored. We must, therefore, make a determined effort not only to preserve it but to enlarge it through additions and finally bring it within the easy reach of our historians. Let us recognize the unpleasent truth that we are lagging behind in historical research. We can make up the deficiency only by hard and earnest work.

Apart from the research work which is being done by individual historians in Pakistan I know of two large-scale efforts that have travelled beyond the stage of mere planning. These are : 1) The punjab University project of the Urdu edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, which is not merely a translation, but a large part of which has been re-written, and 2) History of the freedom Movement among the Muslims of Hind-Pakistan which is being financed by the Government of Pakistan.

Among the historical publications of the year I would like to make particular mention of Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehr's Life of Syed Shahid in Urdu, a product of many years' labour of love. There has been hardly any other important publication. This is obviously a drop in the ocean. It is necessary for us to intensify our efforts and undertake a much more ambitious programme, even though we are not particularly well off in men and material.

The task before the Pakistani historian is stupendous. He is to re-write the whole of our history. We owe it not only to ourselves but to history itself to present the past of the Muslim peoples throughout the world, more particularly in this sub-continent, in its true colours. That there has been a good deal of distortion goes without saying. Beginning with our Holy Prophet (Peace and blessings of God be on him) down to the Muslim heroes of the most recent past, there has been a systematic misrepresentation in describing their ideals and their actions. Much of the misrepresentation seems to be planned and is due to clear prejudice. Those who wrote were mostly either foreign

missionaries or public servants and both had an axe to grind. How could converts be made in the World of Islam without painting Islam as a great evil and Muslims as the embodiment of all that is hateful in human nature ? Similarly the foreign bureaucrats could best justify the system they represented by condemning the one that preceded it. Elliot describes quite frankly in his preface the purpose of his work as making "our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule". But not all the misrepresentation owed its origin to prejudice ; a good deal is the result of ignorance. What are we to say when an eminent non-Muslim historian refers to Aurangzeb's repentance on death-bed as evidence of his black deeds and the wrongs that he had committed in life. No Muslim school-boy could have committed such a blunder, knowing as he must that in similar circumstances the best of Muslim saints would behave exactly in the manner of Aurangzeb.

But let us recognize that there are great dangers in re-writing which have to be guarded against. Let our history be an actual record of what we were, not what we ought to have been. There will always be the temptation to start with a theory and make facts fit into it, however out of harmony the theory might be with the facts. If history is not to turn into fiction or historians into poets, then history has to be true.

Many nations committed mistake of idolizing their past; some still indulge in it. Several nations have given this up. But it took a long time before they realized that this attitude was meaningless. The history of the American War of Independence is a case in point. It took the American historian many a generation before he realized that this was by no means "a great, spontaneous, unanimous uprising, all righteousness, perfection, and infallibility, a marvel of success at every step, and incapable of failure". (S. G. Fisher's True History of the American Revolution, first published in 1902). Yet this was what the Americans were made to believe from what they had read in their history books.

It is quite enough for us to describe our past as it was. The value of what we wire is bound to be enhanced by fair treatment. But, of course, it is not an easy job to be fair in history. Historians are after all human beings with likes and dislikes, passions and prejudices. Yet with all these weaknesses a historian has to be just and impartial and truthfull as far as possible. After all, the Muslims of by gone days were also human beings and the Muslim cities had not got all houses with walls of gold and not all villages were flowing with milk and honey. Yet such is our history, that if our historians were only to depict things as they were, not only would they be serving the cause of truth but inculcate among Muslims a pride in their past.

Now, finally, a word on the pride in our past which has a meaning only if it leads to an improvement of the present. This is the real use of history. Eulogies of our ancestors are of little value if they do not move us to play our part in this world of ours :

فضل و کمال ان کے کچھہ تم میں هوں تو جانیں
گر یہ نهیں تو بابا وہ سب کھانیاں هین

Section I.

ISLAMIC HISTORY

The President of the Islamic History Section Dr. Muhammad Nazim and its Secretary, Qazi Ahmed Mian Akhtar Junagarhi, are unfortunately no more among us. The file of the Islamic History Section was with Qazi Ahmed Mian at the time of his sudden death. In spite of our best efforts we could not get it. It is for this reason that under the Islamic History Section we are unable to publish all the papers submitted for the Conference.

Dr. Muhammad Nazim and Qazi Ahmed Mian were among the eminent scholars of our country. Their deaths are a great loss to historical research in Pakistan. Qazi Ahmed Mian was a member of the Executive Committee of the Society.

S. Moinul Haq

The Islamic History Section met on Tuesday, the 15th February, 1955, at 10.30 A.M.

The proceeding commenced with a recitation from the Holy Qur'an. After the recitation Dr. Mohammad Nazim delivered his presidential address.

On the conclusion of his address the President asked the delegates and scholars to read their papers.

The list of the papers is given below :—

1. Modes of Transmission of Political Sovereignty in the Islamic State
   Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi

2. Fateh Nama and its Sources
   Dr. N. A. Baloch

3. Qazi Bahauddin Ibn Shaddad
   Muhammad Zakariya Mail

خطبہ صدارت شعبہ تاریخ اسلام

ڈاکٹر محمد ناظم ایم۔اے۔پی۔ایچ ڈی

اسلام علیکم و رحمتہ‌اللہ و برکاتہ‘

میں پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی کا ممنون ہوں کہ انھوں نے مجھے ہسٹری کانفرنس کے شعبہ تاریخ کی صدارت کا شرف بخشا ۔ مشہور انگریز مفکر لارڈ بیکن کا قول ہے کہ تاریخ کے مطالعہ سے انسان کی فکر و بصیرت میں اضافہ ہوتا ہے ۔ یہ خیال علم تاریخ کی اہمیت اور افادیت کو بہترین الفاظ میں پیش کرتا ہے۔ تاریخ انسانی زندگی کے کوائف اور ارتقا سے عبارت ہے ۔ اس لئے فطرت انسانی کے مطالعہ کے لئے تاریخ سے زیادہ کارآمد، اہم اور دلچسپ کوئی اور مضمون نہیں ہوسکتا ۔ دنیا کے مختلف گوشوں میں انسانی معاشرے کے مدارج ترقی، اسکے عروج و زوال کے اسباب و غیرہ کی کیفیت ہمیں تاریخی کتابوں سے معلوم ہوتی ہے۔ انسانی فطرت یکساں حالات میں یکساں انداز میں عمل کرتی ہے ۔ عمل اور رد عمل کے اصول معین ہیں، اس لئے کسی قوم کی تاریخ کے مطالعے سے ہم گزشتہ واقعات کی بنیاد پر اس کے آیندہ طرز عمل کے بارے میں قطعی رائے قائم کرسکتے ہیں ۔ تاریخی واقعات کا ظہور جن عوامل اور محرکات کا مرہون منت ہوتا ہے اس کا علم تاریخ ہی کے تنقیدی مطالعے سے ممکن ہے اس علم کی روشنی میں ہم اپنی مشکلات کا حل تلاش کرسکتے ہیں تاکہ اپنی حالت کو پہلے سے بہتر بنائیں ۔

تاریخ مسلمانوں کا خاص علم ہے اسکے اصولوں کی تعیین اور اس کو باقائدہ فن کی حیثیت دینے میں مسلمانوں کا بہت بڑا حصہ ہے مسلمان فرمانرواؤں نے ہمیشہ تاریخ کے مطالعہ سے بہت فائدہ اٹھایا ہے ۔ عظیم مغل حکمران اکبر ناخواندہ ہونے کے باوجود تاریخیں پڑھوا کر سنا کرتا تھا ۔ حضرت

امیر معاویہ جو خاندان بنو امیہ کے سب سے زیادہ کامیاب حکمراں ہوئے ہیں تاریخ سے خاص دلچسپی رکھتے تھے - نماز فجر سے پہلے آپ گزشتہ تاریخی واقعات سنا کرتے تھے - آپ نے عبید بن شریہ کو یمن سے بلوایا اور جن روایات اور تاریخی واقعات وغیرہ کو وہ زبانی بیان کیا کرتا تھا انھیں باقاعدہ قلمبند کرایا - زمانہ حال میں بھی تاریخ دانی کے فوائد ہمارے سامنے ظاہر ہوتے رہتے ہیں - انگلستان کی حکومت کے موجودہ دور میں جب بھی کوئی ایسا لیڈر برسر اقتدار آیا جو تاریخ کا طالب علم رہا ہو تو وہ میدان سیاست میں بہت کامیاب رہا - اس صدی کی دو عظیم جنگوں کے درمیانی وقفے میں انگلستان کی زمام حکومت ایسے لوگوں کے ھاتھ میں رہی جو تاریخ سے دلچسپی نہ رکھتے تھے - چنانچہ انگریز جرمنوں کے مقابلے میں ناکام رہے - مگر جب حکومت ایک تاریخ داں یعنی مسٹر چرچل کے ھاتھوں میں آئی تو حالات نے فوراً پلٹا کھایا اور بین الاقوامی جنگ کا نقشہ انگریزوں کے حق میں بدل گیا - مسٹر چرچل کو جرمن قوم کی تاریخ کا علم تھا وہ اس قوم کی ذھنیت سمجھتے تھے اور اُنھوں نے ایسی ایسی پیش بندیاں کیں کہ ہٹلر اور اس کے رفقائے کار نے غیر معمولی حربی قوت کے باوجود شکست کھائی -

اکابر قوم کی سوانح حیات بھی تاریخ کا ایک اھم شعبہ ھے - اکابر قوم اپنی قوم کے اخلاقی، معاشی، اور مذھبی کیفیت کا عکس ھوتے ھیں ان کی ذات اور کردار کی تشکیل جس ماحول میں ھوتی ھے اس کے اثرات ان کی زندگی کے ھر شعبہ میں ظاھر ھوتے رھتے ھیں اس لئے ان کی سوانح حیات کے مطالعہ سے ھم اس دور کے معاشرے اور قوم کے مجموعی حالات کے بارے میں رائے قائم کرسکتے ھیں جس کی وہ نمایندگی کرتے ھین -

تاریخ کی اھمیت کے متعلق جو کچھ مختصر طور پر کہا گیا ھے وہ تاریخ اسلام پر بھی منطبق ھوتا ھے - ھم مسلمان ھیں اور ھمارے لئے یہ جاننا ضروری ھے کہ ھمارے اسلاف کون تھے، کہاں سے آئے اور کس ماحول میں رھے، اسلام کا ان کی زندگی پر کیا اثر ھوا اور اس کی وجہ سے انھوں نے دنیا میں کیا کارھائے نمایاں انجام دئے - ان کے عروج کے کیا اسباب تھے اور ان کا زوال کن کن غلطیوں کا نتیجہ تھا - آئینی حکمت عملی سے انھیں کیا فوائد اور نقصانات حاصل ھوئے - اسلام کے علاوہ ان کی زندگی پر کن خاص عوامل کا اثر ھوا اور اس کے نتائج ظہور میں آئے - اگر ھمیں تاریخ اسلام کے مطالعہ سے یہ اور اس قسم کے دیگر معلومات حاصل ھوجائیں تو ھم بہ نسبت دوسری اقوام کے ملت اسلامیہ کی تاریخ سے زیادہ اچھے طریقے پر سبق حاصل کرسکتے

ہیں ۔ اگر اقوام عالم کی اور اپنی ملت کی تاریخ پر ہماری اچھی نظر ہو گی تو ہم دوسری حکومتوں سے قریبی اور دیر پا تعلقات قائم کرسکتے ہیں ۔ تاریخ اسلام کے مطالعے سے ہم اپنی گزشتہ نسلوں سے اپنا روحانی و ذہنی رشتہ قائم کرسکتے ہیں اور اس تعلق سے فائدہ اُٹھا سکتے ہیں کیونکہ ان ھی سے ہم نے اخلاقی، روحانی، مجلسی اور معاشری خیالات وتصورات اور اپنی تہذیب کے عناصر ترکیبی ورثہ میں پائے ہیں ۔ اس کے علاوہ اپنی ملی اور اجتماعی خصوصیات کو قایم رکھنے کے لئے ضروری ھے کہ ہم اپنے عظیم الشان ماضی کے ساتھ اپنا تعلق برقرار رکھیں ورنہ اندیشہ ھے کہ دوسری قوموں کے سیاسی و اقتصادی غلبہ کے باعث ہم اپنے آزاد اور الگ وجود ھی سے محروم نہ ہو جائیں ۔

تاریخ ایک ایسا حربہ ھے جس سے وسیع پیمانہ پر قوموں کی ذھنیت کو بگاڑنے یا بدلنے کا بھی کام لیا جاتا ھے ۔ ہندوستان کی تاریخ ایک مخصوص نقطہ نگاہ سے لکھکر انگریزوں نے ہمارے بادشاھوں کے کارناموں کو اس انداز سے پیش کیا کہ ھمیں اپنے ماضی سے شرم آنے لگی اور ہندو مسلم قوموں میں جو مسلمان بادشاھون کی حکومت میں صدیوں ایک دوسرے شیروشکر رھی تھیں ۔ ایسے منافرت کے جذبات پیدا کردئے کہ وہ نہایت قلیل عرصہ میں ایک دوسرے کی دشمن ہوگئیں ۔ اب ھمیں اس بات کی خاص ضرورت ھے کہ ایسے اثرات کو جو غلط تاریخ نویسی کی وجہ سے ہمارے دماغوں میں سما گئے ہیں ۔ صحیح تاریخیں لکھکر زائل کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے اور اپنی آیندہ نسلوں کے سامنے اسلاف کی تاریخ کا ایک ایسا خاکہ پیش کیا جائے جس کے مطالعہ سے ہمارے نوجوانوں میں اپنی شاندار روایات کو قائم رکھنے کا جذبہ اور قوت عمل پیدا ہو اور انھیں معلوم ہوجائے کہ جس دین سے وابستہ ہونے کا انھیں شرف حاصل ھے وہ محض خشک ارکان کا مجموعہ نہیں ھے بلکہ ایک زبردست تہذیبی قوت کا حامل ھے اور ہمارے سامنے ایک مکمل ضابطہ حیات بھی پیش کرتا ھے ۔ اسی دین کے فدائیوں نے ایسے زمانہ میں علم کی شعاعوں دنیا کو روشن کیا جب کہ آجکل کا مہذب یورپ گہری تاریکیوں میں مبتلا تھا ۔ اسی دین کے نام لیوا ایک زمانے میں اپنے ہم عصروں پر وھی فوقیت

اور برتری رکھتے تھے جو یورپین اقوام کو حاصل ہے۔ یہ وہ زمانہ تھا جب کہ حضرت عیسیٰ علیہ السلام اور حضرت مریم کی تصاویر پر یورپین مصور عربی عبارت یا قرآن پاک کی آیات محض خوبصورتی کیلئے نقش کرتے تھے اور آفا (OFFA) شاہ مرشیا نے اپنے سکوں پر صرف عربوں کی دیکھا دیکھی اور بغیر سوچے سمجھے ہوئے کلمہ توحید لکھوادیا تھا۔ صرف تاریخ اسلام کے مطالعہ سے ہی ہم میں یہ احساس پیدا ہوسکتا ہے کہ ہم ایک عظیم الشان اور مکمل تہذیب کے وارث ہیں جو نسل انسانی کے ارتقاء میں ایک نہایت بلند اور ممتاز مقام رکھتی ہے اور جو ہماری آیندہ زندگی کی تعمیر میں اب بھی ہماری معاون ہوسکتی ہے۔

تاریخ نویسی میں مسلمانوں کو من حیث القوم نہایت اعلیٰ حیثیت حاصل ہے۔ اسلام سے پہلے تاریخ لکھنے کا بہت کم رواج تھا۔ اگرچہ یونان، روما اور چین میں تاریخ کی کچھ کتابیں تصنیف بھی کی گئیں۔ مگر یورپ میں عیسائیت کے غلبہ کے بعد کلیسا کو عظمت نصیب ہوئی تو راہبوں اور پاپاؤں نے صرف ولیوں اور پاپاؤں کی سوانح حیات اور ان کے معجزات کو تفصیل کے ساتھ قلمبند کیا کیونکہ مذہبی بزرگوں کے حالات کا تحفظ مذہبی نقطہ نظر سے ضروری اور کار ثواب تصور کیا جاتا تھا۔ اس زمانہ میں تاریخ سے بحیثیت تاریخ کے دلچسپی نہیں لیجاتی تھی بلکہ ان تصنیفات کا محرک محض عقیدت کا جذبہ تھا۔ اس لئے اگر کوئی سیاسی تاریخ بھی لکھی گئی تو کلیسائی اصولوں پر لکھی گئی۔ بعض واقعات کو محض کلیسا کی عظمت بڑھانے کے لئے توڑ موڑ کر پیش کردیا۔ ڈایو کلیشن (Diocletion) کو جو ایک اعلیٰ قسم مدبر تھا ایک خونخوار دیو کی صورت میں دکھایا اور کنسٹنٹائن (Constantine) کو جو ایک خون آشام قاتل تھا ایک ولی درجہ دے دیا۔

تاریخ سے مسلمانوں کے غیر معمولی شغف کا ایک بڑا سبب یہ تھا کہ انہیں رسول کریم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کی ذات پاک سے بے پناہ محبت تھی۔ آنحضرت کے صحابہ کرام نے آپ کے ہر قول کو آپ ہی کے الفاظ میں اور آپ ہی

کی زندگی کے ہر واقعہ کو جزئی تفصیلات کے ساتھ حافظہ میں محفوظ رکھا اور آیندہ نسلوں کی ہدایت کے لئے اسکو اپنے دوستوں، عزیزوں اور شاگردوں سے روایت کیا - اس طرح آنحضرت کی سیرت طیبہ کے لئے کثیرالمقدار مواد جمع ہو گیا جو بعد میں کتابوں میں منتقل کردیا گیا - مسلمان رسول پاک سے کسی غلط روایت کا بیان کرنا گناہ عظیم سمجھتے تھے اس لئے کوشش کی گئی کہ ان کی ذات سے کوئی ایسی روایت منسوب نہ کی جائے جو جرح اور تنقید کی کسوٹی پر کس کر نہ دیکھ لی گئی ہو اور جو پایہ تحقیق کو نہ پہنچ چکی ہو - اسی لئے آنحضرت سے حدیثیں عینی شاہدوں اور صحابہ کرام کی سند سے بیان کی جاتی تھیں - چنانچہ یہ جانچنے کی ضرورت پیش آئی کہ جن جن راویوں نے عینی شاہدوں یا صحابہ کرام سے کوئی حدیث بیان کی ہے وہ کس قسم کے اخلاق کے مالک تھے - اس طرح فن اسماء الرجال کی بنیاد پڑی جس میں تاریخی تحقیق و تنقید کے اصولوں سے کام لیا گیا - اہل تحقیق نے ہزاروں راویوں کی زندگی کے حالات پوری محنت اور تلاش کے بعد قلمبند کئے تاکہ معلوم ہوسکے کہ ان لوگوں کے بیانات کس حدتک قابل اعتبار تھے - اگر سلسلہ روایت میں ایک آدمی بھی کسی اخلاقی کمزوری کا حامل نظر آیا تو حدیث جمع کرنے والوں نے اس حدیث کو ضعیف قرار دیا - اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ جب مسلمانوں نے تاریخ نویسی شروع کی تو اس میں صحت واقعات کو ان ہی اصولوں پر جانچا جوحدیث کے لئے بنائے گئے تھے اور یہ کوشش کی کہ ہر واقعہ کا سلسلہ اس کے عینی شاہد سے ملادیا جائے - تاریخ طبری میں جو ان چند پرانی اسلامی تاریخوں میں سے ہے جو دست برد زمانہ سے بچ گئی ہیں ان ہی اصولوں کی پیروی کی گئی ہے - اس تاریخ کے مصنف کو ایک واقعہ کے متعلق جس قدر بھی مختلف یا متضاد روایتیں ملیں ان کے اسناد کے ساتھ لکھ دیا ہے - طبری کے بعد بھی جس قدر تاریخیں لکھی گئی ہیں ان میں صحت واقعات کا پورا لحاظ رکھا گیا ہے اور یہ ایسی خوبی ہے جو مسلمانوں سے پہلے کی تاریخوں میں نہیں پائی جاتی - مسلمانوں نے ہر ملک اور قوم کی تاریخ لکھی - مختلف ملکوں کے سفر کئے اور ان کے جغرافیہ کے علاوہ وہاں کی تاریخی، تمدنی اور اقتصادی حالات بھی جو ان کے مشاہدے میں آئے یا انہیں بتائے گئے سفر ناموں میں درج کئے - مارکو پولو کے سفرنامے لکھے جانے کے بعد یورپ کو تیرھویں صدی عیسوی میں چین کے حالات معلوم ہوئے حالانکہ مسلمان اس سے کئی سو سال پہلے وہاں تبلیغی اور تجارتی اغراض کے لئے پہنچ چکے تھے اور وہاں کے جملہ حالات سے بخوبی واقف ہو

چکے تھے - زمانہ حال کے فلسفہ تاریخ کی بنیاد بھی مسلمانوں نے ہی رکھی اور ابن خلدون کا شہرہ آفاق مقدمہ آج تک مورخوں کے لئے شمع ہدایت کا کام دیتا ہے -

ہمارے اسلاف نے علم تاریخ کی جو خدمت کی اس کی جتنی بھی تعریف کی جائے کم ہے - مگر ہمیں افسوس کے ساتھ یہ تسلیم کرنا پڑتا ہے کہ ہم نے ان کی روایات کو قائم نہیں رکھا - تاریخ سے باالعموم اور تاریخ اسلام سے بالخصوص ہماری عدم دلچسپی نہایت افسوسناک رہی ہے - آج اگر تاریخ اسلام کے کسی حصے کے مطالعے کی ضرورت ہو تو ہمیں یورپین مصنفوں کی کتابیں نظر آئیں گی جو اکثر ہماری تاریخ کو کسی طے شدہ نقطہ نظر سے لکھتے ہیں اور ہمارے اسلاف کے کار ناموں کو اسطرح سے پیش کرتے ہیں کہ ان کی خوبیاں دب جائیں اور ان کے عیب اس طرح نمایاں ہو جائیں کہ ہمیں ان کا نام لینے میں بھی شرم محسوس ہونے لگے - یہ صورت محض اس لئے پیدا ہوئی کہ ہم نے اپنی تاریخ سے عملی دلچسپی ترک کردی - مگر اب جبکہ خدا کے فضل سے ہم ایک آزاد حکومت مالک ہیں، ہمارے لئے ضروری ہے کہ ہم اپنے آبا و اجداد کے شاندار کار ناموں کی یاد تازہ کریں اور ان کی تاریخ پوری چھان بین کے بعد لکھیں تاکہ ہمارے نوجوان اس کو پڑھیں اور جو احساس کمتری ہم میں پیدا کر دیا گیا ہے اور جس نے ہماری ذہنیت کو پست کردیا ہے اس سے ہمیں نجات حاصل ہو -

یہ خوشی کا مقام ہے کہ اس مقصد کے حصول کے لئے کوشش شروع کردیگئی ہے - مگر ضرورت ہے کہ کوشش کی رفتار ذرا تیز تر ہو - حکومت پاکستان نے ایک ادارہ اسلامک کلچر کے متعلق لاہور میں قایم کیا تھا - اس سال اس قسم کا ایک ادارہ کراچی میں قائم کرنے کی تجویز منظور ہوچکی ہے اور انشاءاللہ بہت جلدکام شروع ہوجائیگا - لفٹننٹ کرنل ابوبکر احمد حلیم صاحب وائس چانسلر کراچی یونیورسٹی کی تجویز ہے کہ رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کی سیرت کے متعلق ریسرچ کرنے کے لئے ایک مرکزی کتب خانہ قائم کیاجائے اور کوشش کی جائے کہ اس کتب خانہ میں رسول کریم کی حیات و سیرت کے متعلق ہر زبان کی جملہ کتابیں مہیا کی جائیں - اس تجویز کو آپ نے گورنمنٹ کے سامنے پیش کردیا ہے اور روپیہ ملنے پر انشاءاللہ تعالیٰ یہ ضرورت پوری ہوجائیگی - اس کے علاوہ کراچی یونیورسٹی کے تاریخ اسلام کے شعبہ میں اسلامی تاریخ کے مختلف موضوعات پر ۸ طالب علم ریسرچ کر رہے ہیں - انجمن ترقی اردو پاکستان نے پروفیسر ایڈورڈ زاخاؤ (EDUARD SACHAU) آنجہانی کے

ایک مقالہ بعنوان ,,خلیفہ حضرت عمر کی تصویر : اسلام کی قدیم ترین تاریخ کا کردار جو انھوں نے جرمن زبان میں ۵۰ سال پہلے تصنیف کیا تھا اور جس میں صرف تیسری صدی ہجری تک کی کتابوں سے استفادہ کیا گیا تھا الحاج ڈاکٹر حمیداللہ صاحب سے اردو زبان میں ترجمہ کرا کے اپنے ایک سہ ماہی رسالہ ,,تاریخ و سیاست،، چھاپ دیا ہے اس کے علاوہ اسی انجمن نے پروفیسر فلپ حطی کی مشہور عالم ,,تاریخ ملت عربی،، کا اردو ترجمہ تصحیح وتحشیہ کے ساتھ اس سال شائع کیا ہے - اس کتاب کی اشاعت سے طلبا کی ایک بہت بڑی درسی ضرورت پوری ہو گئی ہے - مترجم نے مصنف کی غلط فہمیوں کا بھی خاطر خواہ ازالہ کردیا ہے - حکومت سندھ نے چند سال ہوئے ایک سندھی ادبی بورڈ قائم کیا تھا جس کے مقاصد میں سندھ کی تاریخ لکھنے کا کام بھی شامل ہے - اس بورڈ کا کام بہت تندھی سے جاری ہے اور ابتک سندھ کی تاریخ کی پہلی تین جلدیں جن میں عربوں کے حملے اور حکومت کا زمانہ آجاتا ہے بالکل تیار ہوگئی ہیں - اس کے علاوہ اس کی زیر نگرانی سندھ کی ایسی تاریخیں جو ابھی تک شائع نہیں ہو سکی ہیں تصحیح و تحشیہ کے ساتھ چھپوائی جارہی ہیں۔ اس سلسلہ میں ایک کتاب چچ نامہ جو کئی سال ہوئے ڈاکٹر داؤد پوتہ صاحب نے بمبئی میں چھپوائی تھی، ڈاکٹر نبی بخش خاں بلوچ پروفیسر سندھ یونیورسٹی حیدرآباد از سر نو مرتب کر کے شائع کر رہے ہیں ڈاکٹر بلوچ صاحب اسکے علاوہ بھی تاریخ اسلام کی خدمت انجام دیتے رہتے ہیں - ان کا ایک مقالہ حضرت بلال کے حالات پر چھپ گیا ہے اور انہوں نے بڑی محنت اور کاوش سے دیبل کے مقام کو (جسے محمد بن قاسم نے فتح کیا تھا) متعین کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے - سندھ یونیورسٹی نے بھی گذشتہ سال سے تاریخ اسلام کا شعبہ قائم کیا ہے - اس شعبہ کی رہنمائی اور نگرانی میں ۳ طالب علم پی - ایچ - ڈی کی ڈگری کے لئے مقالے تحریر کر رہے ہیں -

علوم اسلامی کی خدمت کے سلسلہ میں جامعہ پنجاب کا کام خصوصیت کے ساتھ قابل ذکر ہے - اس جامعہ میں انسائیکلو پیڈیا آف اسلام کے اردو ترجمہ کا کام کئی سال سے ہورہا ہے - یہ محض ترجمہ ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ تحقیق و تلاش سے اصل کتاب کی خامیوں کو رفع کیا جارہا ہے اور سابقہ تحقیق پر اضافے کئے جارہے ہیں - اس کام کی تکمیل پر اسلامی تاریخ کے متعلق بہت سے مضامین جو یورپین مستشرقین کی علمی کاوش کا نتیجہ ہیں تعصب کی تلخیوں سے پاک کر کے پیش کردئے جائینگے - صوبہ پنجاب میں اسلامی تاریخ کے ماہروں کی توجہ زیادہ تر اسکول اور کالج کے طلبا کے لئے درسی کتابوں کے لکھنے کی

طرف مبذول رہی ہے کیونکہ اس مضمون پر کوئی کتاب نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے یہ بھی اہم ضرورت تھی ۔ جسے پورا کیا جارہا ہے ۔

باوجود اس کے خوشی کا مقام ہے کہ لاہور میں پروفیسر محمد شفیع صاحب (انسائیکلوپیڈیا آف اسلام کی مصروفیتوں سے وقت نکال) اور ڈاکٹر محمد عبداللہ چغتائی صاحب اور پشاور میں ایس ایم جعفر صاحب تاریخ اسلام کی خدمت میں مصروف ہیں ۔ سال گذشتہ خان بہادر صاحب نے کئی محققانہ مضامین فتاوائے عالمگیری ۔ مراۃ عالم، شاہ طہماسپ صفوی وغیرہ پر اورینٹل کالج میگزین لاہور میں شائع کئے ہیں ۔ ڈاکٹر چغتائی صاحب نے جنھیں کتبات آثار قدیمہ اور مصوری سے خاص دلچسپی ہے اس سلسلہ میں اپنی تحقیق کے نتائج کو مختلف اردو انگریزی رسائل میں پیش کیا ہے ۔ حال میں ڈاکٹر عطا محی الدین صاحب نے ایک مبسوط کتاب انگریزی زبان میں حضرت ابوبکر رضی اللہ عنہ پر لکھی ہے جو ہماری تاریخ کی ایک بہت بڑی کمی کو پورا کرتی ہے ۔ اور مولوی غلام رسول مہر صاحب نے مجاہد کبیر حضرت سید احمد رحمتہ اللہ علیہ بریلوی کے مفصل سوانح حیات اور ان کی تحریک احیاء دین کی مکمل سرگزشت سید احمد شہید رحمتہ اللہ علیہ کے نام سے لاہور سے شائع کی ہے ۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے ادارہ اسلامیات میں تاریخ اسلام پر ریسرچ کا کام جاری ہے مگر فی الحال ایم اے کے امیدوار اپنے ایک پرچہ کے بدلے کسی اسلامی مضمون پر مختصر سا مقابلہ تحریر کر دیتے ہیں ۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے ارباب حل و عقد سے استدعا ہے کہ وہ پی ایچ ڈی کے لئے مقالے لکھوانے کا انتظام بھی کریں ۔

اس خطبہ کو ختم کرنے سے پہلے میں مناسب سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ کی توجہ چند اہم مسائل کی طرف مبذول کرائی جائے ۔

۱ — پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے کتب خانے کے علاوہ پاکستانی یونیورسٹیوں میں تاریخ اسلام پر کتابوں کی بہت کمی ہے ۔ ہماری سب سے اول ضرورت یہ ہے کہ عربی کی ایسی کتابیں جو اسلامی تاریخ کے ماخذوں میں شمار ہوتی ہیں لائبریریوں میں منگائی جائیں اور جن جن کے تراجم اردو یا انگریزی میں ہوگئے ہیں وہ بھی مہیا کئے جائیں ۔

(۲) ہماری یونیورسٹیوں کے طالب علم کے مطالعے کے لئے تاریخ اسلام پر جس قدر کتابیں انگریزی زبان میں ملتی ہیں وہ بالعموم غیر قوموں کے فضلا کی لکھی ہوئی ہیں جو اسلام کی ہر خوبی کو قابل اعتراض انداز سے پیش کرتے ہیں ۔ ضرورت ہے کہ مسلمان مصنفین تحقیق و تفتیش کے بعد تاریخ اسلام

پر کتابیں لکھیں تاکہ ہماری آیندہ نسلیں اپنے شاندار ماضی کی صحیح تصویر سے آگاہ ہو سکیں۔

(۳) ہر یونیورسٹی کا ایک پریس ہونا چاہئیے تاکہ اُس میں ریسرچ ڈگری حاصل کرنے والے طالب علموں کے مقالے اور اساتذہ کے علمی مضامین اور کتابیں آسانی سے چھپ سکیں - خوشی کی بات ہے کہ سندھ یونیورسٹی نے اس قسم کا ایک پریس قائم کردیا ہے۔

(۴) تقسیم ہند کے وقت جتنے مشہور اسلامی کتب خانے تھے وہ سب بھارت میں رہ گئے مگر اب بھی بیشمار قلمی کتابیں ہمارے ملک کے علم دوست گھرانوں میں موجود ہیں - ضرورت ہے کہ ہم پاکستان کے مخطوطات کی فراہمی کا انتظام کریں اور کوشش کریں کہ ان کو مرکزی مقامات پر محفوظ کرلیا جائے - ماضی کا یہ ورثہ ایک قومی حیثیت رکھتا ہے اور انفرادی نہیں بلکہ قومی حفاظت کا متقاضی ہے کیونکہ اس کے بغیر ملت اسلامیہ کی تاریخ نویسی کا کام سر انجام نہیں پاسکتا - اگر ان نسخوں کے مالک کسی وجہ سے قومی ملکیت میں دینا پسند نہ کریں تو ان کی نقول یا عکسی فلمیں تیارکرا کے مرکزی قومی اداروں میں محفوظ کرلی جائیں چونکہ ہمارے علمی ذخائر کا زیادہ حصہ یورپ کے کتب خانوں میں منتقل ہوچکا ہے اس لئے لازمی ہے کہ ہم وہاں سے بھی اپنی مخطوطات کی عکسی فلمیں تیارکرواکر منگائیں -

اس سلسلہ میں ایک اور اہم ضرورت یہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے ملک کے ذخائر مخطوطات کی فہرستیں مرتب کریں تاکہ یہ معلوم ہوسکے کہ تاریخ کی کتابوں کے کون کون سے نسخے کس کس جگہ موجود ہیں اور اس طرح کام کرنے والوں کو ان سے فائدہ اُٹھانے کا موقع مل سکے -

(۵) اسلامی تاریخ کی بہت سی اہم کتابیں ابھی تک طبع نہیں ہوئی ہیں - ایسے مخطوطات کا بعد مقابلہ وصحت متون وحواشی اور تنقیدی دیباچوں کے ساتھ شائع کرنا ضروری ہے - یورپین مستشرقین نے اس معاملہ میں تاریخ اسلام کی بہت خدمت کی ہے - مگر اب چاہئیے کہ ہمارے فضلاء اپنی ذمہ داری کو محسوس کریں اور اپنی تاریخ کی نشرواشاعت کا کام اپنے ہاتھ میں لیں -

(۶) مخطوطات کے علاوہ کتبات سے بھی نہایت قیمتی تاریخی مواد مل سکتا ہے - کتبات مخطوطات کی طرح انقلاب لیل ونہار سے تلف ہوتے رہتے ہیں - لہذا ضروری ہے کہ ان کو محفوظ کرلیا جائے تاکہ ان کے مواد کو طالب علم کام میں لاسکیں - ٹھٹھہ میں بالخصوص بےشمار کتبات کا ذخیرہ

موجود ہے ۔ مگر افسوس ہے کہ عدم توجہی کی وجہ سے وہ آہستہ آہستہ ضائع ہورہا ہے ۔ ضروری ہے کہ ان کی نقلیں لے کر انہیں شائع کیا جائے ۔ یہ کام محکمۂ آثار قدیمہ کی فوری توجہ کا محتاج ہے ۔

(۷) ہماری آزاد مملکت قائم ہوئے سات سال سے زیادہ عرصہ ہوگیا ہے مگر ابھی تک کوئی خاص کوشش ان مقامات کے متعین کرنے میں نہیں کی گئی ۔ جہاں عرب سب سے پہلے آئے ۔ دیبل ۔ منصورہ ۔ محفوظہ کے نام تاریخوں میں پڑھتے ہیں ۔ لیکن ابھی تک ان کے صحیح جائے وقوع کا ہمیں علم نہیں ہے ۔ حکومت پاکستان کے محکمہ آثار قدیمہ نے تین چار سال ہوئے اس سلسلہ میں کچھ کام کیا تھا مگر اس کا کوئی خاص نتیجہ برآمد نہیں ہوا ۔ ضرورت ہے کہ ہماری حکومت اس کام کو وسیع پیمانے پر شروع کرائے تاکہ محمد بن قاسم فاتح سندھ نے جن جن مقامات کو فتح کیا تھا کم ازکم ان کے جائے وقوع کو متعین کرنے کی کوشش کی جاسکے ۔

جن کاموں کا اوپر ذکر کیا گیا ہے ۔ اس کے لئے کثیر سرمایہ اور بہت سے کام کرنے والوں کی ضرورت ہے ۔ اس لئے مختلف صوبوں کی حکومتوں ۔ ریاستوں، یونیورسٹیوں اور مخیر اصحاب سے میں پر زور اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ وہ ریسرچ کرنے والے اساتذہ اور طلباء کو سہولتیں بہم پہنچائیں تاکہ وہ اطمینان قلب سے کام کریں اور تاریخ اسلام کی خدمت بجالائیں ۔

اسلامی تاریخ ہمارے اسلاف کے کارناموں کا بیان ہے ۔ دعا ہے کہ خدا ہمیں توفیق دے کہ ہم اس کام کی طرف تندہی سے رجوع کرسکیں اور اس کی مدد سے اپنے موجودہ اور مستقبل کے معموں کو حل کرنے میں کامیاب ہوں ۔ آمین ۔

آخر میں میں اپنی اس مسرت کا اظہار کئے بغیر نہیں رہ سکتا جو مجھے پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی جیسے ادارے کی علمی خدمات دیکھکر ہوئی ہے اس سوسائٹی نے ملک کی اہم ضروریات کو پورا کیا ہے اور بہت مفید کام کررہی ہے خصوصاً اس کے سہ ماہی جنرل نے پاکستان اور بیرونی ممالک میں اپنا ایک امتیازی مقام پیدا کرلیا ہے ۔ ریسرچ کی جو اسکیمیں اس کے سامنے ہیں بڑی اہم اور ضروری ہیں ۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ حکومت پاکستان طلباء تاریخ اور ملک کے دوسرے سر برآوردہ اور اہل ذوق حضرات اس سوسائٹی کی سر پرستی اور حوصلہ افزائی میں کمی نہ کریں گے ۔ میں سوسائٹی کے کارکنوں کو ان کی مساعی پر مبارکباد دیتا ہوں ۔

میں شکر گزار ہوں کہ آپ نے میری گزارشات کو توجہ سے سنا

MODES OF
TRANSMISSION OF POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE ISLAMIC STATE

By
DR. AMIR HASAN SIDDIQI

It is quite clear how utterly different were the Beduin Arabs from other nations, and how energetically they strove to assert, even in the earliest times, the right of the people to choose and elect their ruler or tribal chief. They had been accustomed to acknowledge no other authority than that of the ephemeral tribal chief whom they elected and deposed when occasion demanded. Foreign to the Arabs was the idea of a hereditary kingship as rarely in deed did the headships of an Arab tribe remain longer than four generations in one single family. Nobility of birth, seniority in age and other personal distinctions were the qualifications for rulership in a tribe. There was no definite tenure of the office of the Chief who was allowed to hold authority during his good behaviour.

It is highly significant that the Qur'an is silent and even the Holy Prophet did not leave any definite instructions nor did he lay down any particular procedure for the appointment of his successor. To some this may appear rather disappointing but there is every reason to suppose that this omission was deliberate and quite in consonance with the elastic and universal character of Islam. As Islam is meant for all times and all climes, it could not afford to bind its followers to a hard and rigid procedure in this matter. The Prophet knowing very well that the mode

of succession would differ from time to time and from people to people, he deliberately abstained from laying down any particular rules of procedure in this behalf, thus leaving this question to be decided by the people themselves. The early Caliphs, however, in keeping with their own national traditions, and in accordance with the spirit of Islam adopted the following three modes of succession which can serve as precedents to Muslims who could follow any one of them suiting their own circumstances and environments.

Election of the First Caliph

As soon as the 'Ansar' of Madina heard about the death of the Holy Prophet, they assembled together in order to elect the Caliph from among themselves. When this news reached the prominent Companions of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Abu 'Ubaida, scenting the danger from such an election, hastened to the spot. Abu Bakr argued the point with the 'Ansar' that if they elected the Caliph from among themselves, no recognition would be given to such an election by all the tribes of Arabia and particularly by the Quraish who occupied the most important and prominent position in Arabia. Thereupon the 'Ansar' demanded that there should be two chiefs, one from among themselves and the other from among the Quraish. Abu Bakr rejected this demand emphatically asserting the fundamental principle of Sovereignty that their could not be two Caliphs is one State ; and when he recalled the famous tradition of the Prophet "Al-A'iyammatu min al Quraish," (Imam to be chosen from the Quraish) the 'Ansar' were convinced of the futility of their claims to the Caliphate and agreed with Abu Bakr's argument. In the meanwhile, 'Umar, reminding the people that since Abu Bakr was the most revered, the senior most among the Chief Companions of the Prophet and had the honour of leading the congregational prayers of the Muslims during the illness of the Prophet, took oath of allegiance to him as the first Caliph in Islam. And when Abu 'Ubaida followed suit, the whole assembly present there took oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr. On the following day, the whole public took oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr as the first Caliph.

Choice of the Second Caliph

During his last illness, Abu Bakr thought of nominating his successor and after due consideration he put the name of 'Umar before the prominent Companions of the Holy Prophet and when there was unanimity regarding his proposal, he got a will made out nominating 'Umar as his successor. Thereafter, he convened a general assembly of the people to announce his will. When Abu Bakr announced the name of 'Umar as his successor, it was accepted with great zeal and acclamation by the public assembled there ; and all the people took oath of allegiance for him without any signs of disapproval.

Selection of the Third Caliph

When the Caliph 'Umar was fatally wounded by a Christian and it was felt that there was no hope of his survival, he was approached by the prominent Companions of the Prophet to settle the question of succession. In the first instance he was not agreeable to nominate anybody and expressed his wish to have nominated either Abu 'Ubaida or Salim the liberated slave of Abu Huzaifa if they were alive. When asked to nominate his own son 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar, he said that he had not even conceived the name of his own son for the office. When further pressed to settle this question, he nominated a Council of the following six most important Companions of the Prophet—

1. 'Ali
2. 'Usman
3. Talha
4. Zubair
5. Sa'd ibn Waqqas
6. Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf

and instructed them to select the Caliph from among themselves within the next three days. He also associated the name of his own son 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar but only in a consultative capacity. He was not allowed to contest the election to the Caliphate but was only authorised to cast his vote in case there was equal division of votes. Since Talha was away from Madina, he gave

further instructions that in case of equal division of votes, the person for whom 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf had cast his vote may be elected. He was very emphatic on the point that the election of the Caliph must take place within three days and that the decision of the majority must be enforced even at the point of sword. In accordance with these instructions, the Council started functioning immediately after his funeral ceremony was over. In order to facilitate the selection, 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf suggested that some of the members of the Council should withdraw their candidature. Thereupon three of them namely Sa'd ibn Waqqas, Zubair and Talha withdrew their candidature from the contest, thus leaving the remaining three, namely, 'Ali, 'Usman and 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf in the field. Next Abdur Rahman ibn Awf suggested that any one of them who would now withdraw his candidature will be empowered to make the Caliph, on hearing this proposal, both 'Usman and 'Ali kept quiet and 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf thereupon withdrew his candidature and thus undertook upon himself to make the selection of the third Caliph. He asked 'Ali whether he would follow the Qur'an, the traditions of the Prophet and the precedents of the first two Caliphs in case he was selected for the Caliphate. The latter replied that he would try his best but he would also apply his own judgement. When the same question was put to 'Usman, the latter replied in the affirmative without any reservation. However, 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf, in order to satisfy himself spent the remaining time in sounding the opinion of the people; and when he realised that the majority was in favour of 'Usman, he took oath of allegiance to the latter. The decision of 'Abdur Rahman ibn 'Awf was accepted by the people unanimously including 'Ali himself; and the oath of allegiance to him was taken by all the people throughout the Islamic State.

Fundamental Principles

From the above-mentioned modes of succession adopted during the early Caliphate, the following fundamental principles may be deduced so far as the transmission of political sovereignty in the Islamic state is concerned. Firstly, there is the indivisible

character of Sovereignty. When the Ansar realizad that it was futile on their part to lay any possible claims to the office of the Caliphate, they, made the demand that there should be two Amirs, one from among themselves and another from among the tribe of Quraish. Abu Bakr, who was the leader and the representative of the Quraish, emphatically refused to concede this demand saying there could not be two Amirs among the Muslims.

Mode of Election

The second point that emerged from the above mentioned modes of succession is that the element of election was essential with regard to the appointment of the head of the Islamic State. The principle of hereditary succession was scrupulously avoided by Abu Bakr by not nominating his own son or brother but by nominating the best candidate available at the time ; and particularly by 'Umar who had excluded his own equally capable son, Abdullah ibn 'Umar from contesting the election while conceding him the right of vote in case of equal division of the votes of the Shura. Thirdly only prominent Companions could stand for election for the exalted office of the Caliphate, and the rest of the people of Madina could elect. The remaining people were to ratify the election subsequently by taking oath of allegiance to the elected Caliph either at his own hands in Madina or at the hands of his representatives in the provinces. This shows that Islam enjoins higher qualifications for the category of people from among whom the candidates for the exalted office could be drawn and lesser qualifications are expected from those who are given the right to vote. Even those who could not be directly connected with the election had to be associated with it by being asked to take the oath of allegiance. It is on this score that Al-Mawardi the celebrated Muslim Jurist divides the whole Muslim nation into two classes ; the first embracing all those who put a claim to sovereignty ; and the other who possess the right of electing the Imam. He has suggested manifold qualifications for those who are eligible for the office of the Caliphate, viz.,

1. Spotless integrity.

2. Requisite juridicotheological knowledge.

3. Freedom from defects of hearing, sight and speech.

4. Freedom from physical infirmities.

5. Necessary insight for governing the people and conducting the affairs of the State

6. Courage and boldness in defending the Muslim state and in fighting the enemies.

7. Descent from the family of Quraish.

Among the conditions Mawardi omits two which have been added by later jurists (for instance by Qazi Baidhawi in his *Tawil-ul-Anwar* and by Ghazzali in his *Ihya*, (vol. I., P. 147) all full manhood or maturity and the male sex. All these qualifications were necessary in order to run an Ideological Islamic State. The last of Mawardi's qualifications viz., descent from the tribe of Quraish seems to be in contradiction with the fundamental principle of equally in Islam. But those who are acquainted with the political conditions obtaining in the Arabia of those days will agree that the Quraish were the only tribe to whom obedience allegiance could be conceded by all other tribes in Arabia on account of their dynastic influence, political position and the large number of talented persons they produced both before and after the advent of Islam. Moreover, when the founder of Islam and its ideology also belonged to them, there was no question of electing the Prophet's successor from any other tribe. Who could vie with the personalities like Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman and 'Ali in theological knowledge, integrity of character, self secrifice and the will to run that ideological state. However, this tradition was quoted by the Prophet if quoted at all in order to suit the exigencies of the then Arabs. This tradition is believed to have been quoted by Abu Bakr at a time when the Ansar wanted to elect Imam from amongst themselves. If the Ansar had succeeded in doing so, the Islamic State should have fallen to pieces immediately. What to say of any recognition given to them by the Quraish, the rival party among the Ansar themselves

would have opposed it. It shows clearly that the Caliph must have been elected from among the tribe of Quraish from the closest Companions of Prophet as the latter along with their leader had suffered and were willing to suffer to the utmost for the maintenance of that ideological State. If any proof is needed that this tradition was only meant as a temporary measure and not for the future, it can be provided by the important saying of Ḥazrat 'Umar. When the latter was approached by the Companions of the Prophet to nominate someone for the Caliphate, he expressed himself thus Whom should I nominate ? If there is none worthy of it. Abu 'Ubaida ibn al-Jar rah or Salim, the liberated slave of Huzaifa were alive, I would have nominated either of them. This clearly shows that the descent from the tribe of Quraish was not an essential condition for the candidature of the Caliphate. Even a slave could be nominated or chosen if he were to prove more capable and possessed of more virtues than many a Candidate from the tribe of Quraish. Moreover, the well known historical sermon by the Prophet on the occasion of the Last Pilgrimage when he preached that neither the Arabs have any preference over the 'Ajam nor the latter over the former, but that character and virtue alone count, throws ample light on this matter. The only criterion in matter of all appointments including that of the Caliph, should have been in accordance with the prophet's sermon, viz., the capability and character of the candidate concerned. Although in the above mentioned qualifications the non-Muslims have not been expressly debarred from putting their claims for election as Caliph, but in accordance with the well-known verse of the Qur'an.

اطیعو الله و اطیعو الرسول و اولی الامر منکم

it is too obvious that from among the qualified Muslims alone the Head of the State could be chosen. Apparently it might appear as an injustice to non-Muslim ; but on closer scrutiny it becomes unavoidable. As the Islamic State is based on Islamic ideology only the believers in that ideology who were well versed in it and were prepared to undergo all kinds of sufferings and privations in order to promote its cause could possibly be entrusted with its

working. Even in the Modern world, we have got a similar and parallel example of another ideological State, viz., the Communistic State where none could be entrusted with the working of the state who did not subscribe to the fundamental principles of that ideology.

Qualification of the Voters

The other group of the population which is required to vote the candidates for the Caliphate is also required to possess certain qualifications; and Mawardi lays down qualification for them viz, literacy, intelligence and spotless character. This is necessitated by the fact that Islam enjoins upon the people to be quite free and intelligent enough to cast their votes for the right type of person. If a country is so advanced as to develop all these qualifications among all the adults, then and then alone can universal adult suffrage be conceded. But if on the other hand, if a certain country has not developed literacy to such an extent, then even the voters may be divided into two categories; namely those who would actually vote and secondly those who would simply ratify the election made by the literate voters. Therefore it may be concluded that the widening of enfranchisement depends upon the expansion of education in a country, and providing conditions that might facilitate free election.

Bai'a

After the election of the Caliph, every adult Muslim citizen was required to take the oath of allegiance to the Caliph. This was necessitated by two factors; firstly, all of them had not voted at the time of election, and secondly, all the citizens must be bound by oath of allegiance so that they should always obey the orders of the Caliph and cooperate with him in matters of state. Once the oath of allegiance had been taken by the Believers, it could not be broken unless, of course, the Caliph violated the laws of the shariah flagrantly. This oath of allegiance was purely a contractual affair between the Caliph and the citizens. The people had surrendered all their rights in the person of the Caliph so that the latter should regulate the affairs of the State in accordance with the

Divine laws ; and if he acted contrary to them, the contract was no longer in existence and the citizens were exonerated from their oath of allegiance. Since the real electors were the prominent Companions of the Prophet, greater importance was attached to the oath of allegiance of such persons. No other state has granted so much importance to an individual as the Islamic State. Even in modern times no oath of allegiance is taken by every individual to the Head of the State. Only Ministers of State are administered the oath of allegiance, whereas in the Islamic State, every individual is required to take the oath of allegiance to the Caliph.

Remarkable indeed is the conception of the relation between the Nation and the Sovereign. Al-Mawardi regards it as a bilateral contract. If the elected Caliph refused the nomination he could not be made to accept it. A necessary consequence of this view was that the acceptance of election imposed certain duties. Those duties of the Muslim Sovereign, according to Mawardi were :

1. To uphold the fundamental principles of the Muslim religion.

2. To decide law suits and to settle other disputes.

3. To defend the territories of the Islamic state.

4. To administer the penal law.

5. To guard the frontiers by maintaining garrisons and making preparations for war.

6. To fight those who refused to accept Islam or to submit upon terms laid down for Non-Muslims.

7. To pay the annuity from the State treasury.

8. To levy taxes and imposts according to the law.

9. To appoint trustworthy men and councillors for the administration of different districts and for fiscal purposes.

10. To personally inspect and control the administration.

If the Caliph discharged and fulfilled these duties, the people, as against these, had two duties to discharge on their part.

1. The render him obediance.

2. To render him assistance.

Deposition of the Caliph

The association of every adult Muslim in the election of a Caliph through *Bai'a*, gave them the corresponding right of demanding the deposition of the Caliph in case he acted contrary to the injunctions of the Sharia or he became incapacitated to carry on the administration of the State. Here again the initiative, as in the case of the election, came from the people and the rest of the population was required to ratify the deposition. Once it was done, the deposition was final and the deposed Caliph was immediately dethroned, as there was no fixed tenure of the Caliph. The latter was allowed to administer affairs through good behaviour.

For deposing a sovereign, the people generally met in the Chief Mosque. Some man of position addressed the assembly, when charges were formulated and made against the ruling Caliph, and his deposition was declared in the interests of Islam; the speaker concluding his speech by taking his ring from his finger, or throwing it on the ground, or removing his shoe and flinging it away and adding "I cast away so and so as I do this ring or this shoe" with this the act of deposition was completed.

The Arab Jurists recognised along with election, another mode of transmission of sovereignty, viz., the nomination of the reigning Caliph. We need scarcely emphasise the apparent opposition between these two methods of transmission of sovereignty, viz., the elective sovereignty and transmission of sovereignty by royal disposition. Elective franchise was due to the old Arabian custom of election to the tribal chieftainship by the different tribes. The transmission of sovereignty by testamentary disposition, on the other hand, owed its origin to the nomination of Umar made by the first Caliph Abu Bakr. But it should not be forgotton that Abu Bakr did not nominate his own son or brother but nominated the best qualified person for the office in order to avoid unnecessary election and that too after the unanimous decision of the chief Companions of the Prophet. His nomination also received the unanimous acceptance at the

hands of the general public without even a dissentient voice. It was most unfortunate for Muslim polity that this loophole was taken advantage of for the first time by Mu'awia who nominated his own son to the Caliphate. This procedure was maintained subsequently by all the succeeding dynasties among Muslims, and in the absence of any line of demarcation between the religious and the temporal functions of the Caliphate the jurists had to recognise the nomination system which was against the national traditions and the spirit of the Islamic State as a *fait accompli*.

But even when the reigning Caliph had appointed a successor the arrangements had invariably to be confirmed by general election and humage; and no Caliph appointing his son or kinsman as his successor omitted to obtain the general homage by which popular approval was secured and supreme consecration obtained.

The old Arabian idea of seniority was in constant conflict with the natural zeal of the father to hand down the sovereignty to the son and, therefore, we find that the succession was not based purely on hereditary basis. There are instances in which the son or even the brother have been ignored and some one else more capable than either the son or the brother has been nominated by the previous Caliph The cases of the nomination of 'Umar ibn 'Abdul Aziz by the Caliph Sulaiman during the Umayyed Caliphate and that of Imam 'Ali al Riza by the Caliph Mamun may be cited as examples (though rare).

An election, once effected, was regarded as so holy and binding that its operative force only ceased by the Caliph himself and thus we find a very common saying; "Election lies heavy on my neck". Only the most imminet danger of life could induce Caliph to renounce his election, and even this had to be done in public. The Caliph Hadi, in defiance of public sentiments, set aside the succession of Harun al-Rashid and caused homage to be done to his son Ja'far, but when Hadi died, the majority declared in favour of Harun al-Rashid. One of the officers of the latter hastened straightway to Ja'far and threatened to kill him instantly if he did not renounce his election. Ja'far consented, and stepping

out on the balcony of the palace, he called out : "O inhabitants of the town! I release him on whose neck lies heavy my election. The throne belongs to my uncle Harun and, I have no right or title to it. O People! You are aware that no man is to be obeyed when he commands an act that is sinful. This is my address to you and I pray God for myself and for you."

The deposition of Walid II and the election of Yazid III by the people clearly demonstrate the purely democratic character of election The Caliph could be simply depose if he failed to fulfil his promise or to carry out his trust. The only and exclusive source of sovereignty and power was election by the assembled community of Muslims.

Often, indeed, did the institution of election sink into a mere formality ; but instances are not wanting which prove how deep-rooted in the minds of the Arabian people was the idea that election was an essential preliminary to the legal assumption of political Sovereignty.

FATEH NAMA & ITS SOURCE

By

DR. N. A. BALOCH

1. The Book

In 613 A. H., 'Ali b. Hamid b. Abi Bakr Kufi started from Uchh in search of material concerning the early Islamic conquests in India and discovered a manuscript on the subject with Qadi Ismail of Aror and Bakhar (Sind). This manuscript which dealt with the early Arab conquest of Sind was "composed by Arab Scholars" but was "written in the hand" of one of the ancestors of Qadi Ismail, and had passed on from one to the other member of the family, till to Qadi Ismail, by way of inheritance. 'Ali Kufi translated this manuscript into Persian, dedicated it to the Vizir Ain al-Mulk Husain b. Abu Bakr, the Minister of Sultan Nasiruddin Qabacha (602-625 A. H.). and *entitled* it as "*Minhajuddin-wa-al-Mulk al-Hazrat al-Sadr al-Ajall al-Alim Ain -al-Mulk*". This being a long title, which was, moreover, announced by 'Ali Kufi at the end of his translation rather than in its introduction, it failed to become a popular name of 'Ali Kufi's translation. By 1002 A. H., the author of *Tubaqat-e-Akbari* referred to it as "*Tarikh-e-Minhaj al-Masalik*" which is famous by the name of Chach Nama"; the author of *Zubdat-al-Tawarikh* (composed 1014-1025 A. H.) also called it "*Minhaj al-Masalik*"; the author of *Beglar Nama* (composed 1017 A H.) called it "*Kitab Chach Nama*". The oldest extant manuscript of this translation (Punjab University Library Mss.) written in 1061 A. H. also notices it as "*Tarikh Fateh Sind*" known as "*Chach*

Nama". Thus, it appears that the name of the original Arabic work was lost with its translation into persian, and subsequently the Persian translators' pretentious name of "*Minhaj al-Din etc.*" was supplanted from the beginning of the 11th century A. H. by the more popular but incorrect name of "*Chach Nama.*" This is the name by which this work is known to this day. However, in its persian introduction as well as in the Persian text, two other expressions are used, which perhaps give a clue to the original name of the Arabic work. These are "*Tarikh-e-Hind-wa-Fateh-e-Sind*" *and* "*Fateh Nama*". Dr. U. M. Daudpota, the editor of the Persian text, has, therefore, preferred to call the book as "*Fateh Nama-e-Sind alias Chach Nama*".

II. Sources of Fateh Nama

A comparative study of the historical material on the Arab conquest of Mukran and Sind contained in *Fateh Nama* and the relevant material in Baladhuri's '*Futuh al-Buldan*', Ibn al-Wadeh's '*al-Tarikh-al-Yakubi*', and Abu Ja'far's '*Tarikh-al Tabari*', indicates that *Fateh Nama's* account tally exactly with Baladhuri's account given in his book under the Chapter '*Bab Futuh-al-Sind*.' Now, this Chapter of Baladhuri is narrated on the authority of "Ali b. Muhammad b. Abdullah b. Abi Saif" which is the full name of 'al-Madaini'. Baladhuri uses the word '*akhbarna*' which means that al-Madaini himself related this account to him. Internal evidence almost conclusively proves that Baladhuri has recorded this whole Chapter on al-Madaini's authority, because all his quotations from other sources are parenthetical ones, either supporting al-Madaini's accouut or giving alternative opinions.

There are reasons to believe that both in *Yakubi* and *Tabari*, information regarding the conquest of Mukran and Sind, either in the form of detailed accounts or brief references, have come down from al-Madaini. He is the only authority who ever wrote about these conquests in particular and the conquest of the Eastern countries in general. Ibn Nadim in his '*Kitab al-Fehrist*' counts, among the other works of al-Madaini, the following three particularly concerning the conquest and administration of

Mukran and Sind, namely, (1) *Kitab Fateh Mukran* (كتاب فتح مكران), (2) Kitab Thaghr-al-Hind (كتاب ثغرالهند) and (3) Kitab Ummal-al-Hind (كتاب عمال الهند).

Al-Madaini was born in 135 A.H. and died in 225 A.H. Baladhuri who died by about 279-80 A.H. was a young man when he heard the accounts of these conquests from al-Madaini who, at that time, must have been very old. It is, therefore reasonable to presume that al-Madaini gave verbally a resume of his above three works to Baladhuri which the latter recorded in the Chapter '*Bab Futuh al-Sind*' in his book '*Futuh al-Buldan*'. As such, Baladhuri's account is brief and concise as compared to the accounts of *Fateh Nama*, which are exactly parallel to Baladhuri's account in sequence, but are more copious and detailed. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume that while Baladhuri's chapter is only a resume of al-Madaini's three works on Mukran and India, *Fateh Nama* incorporates in details the two works of al Madaini, namely, *Kitab Fath Mukran* and *Kitab Thaghr-al-Hind;* his third book, *Ummal-al-Hind* ('the Governors of India' *i.e*, of Mukran and Sind) is not incorporated in *Fateh Nama* which ends with the account of Mohammad b. Qasim's conquest but does not record further details about the subsequent governors which have been summarised in Baladhuri's Chapter.

In *Fateh Nama*, there are in all 37 single or chain-authorities (*asnad*) of *rawis* from whom the various accounts have been reported. Of those, 23 are expressly in al-Madaini's name; in the remaining 14, it seems, the first name of al-Madaini has been omitted due to the carelessness of the Persian translator 'Ali Kufi. For, most of the reporters whose names occur in these 14 chain-authorities lived long before al-Madaini, while a few of them were his contemporaries whose reports are elsewhere transmitted by al-Madaini himself.

Regarding the authorship of *Fateh Nama*, there can be only two presumptions; either *Fateh Nama* may be regarded as al-Madaini's work, or it may be the work of someone else who lived after al-Madaini.

Of these two presumptions, the first one seems to be a more plausible one because if someone else had written about Mukran and Sind after al-Madaini, i.e. aftes 225 A.H. when Madaini dies, he would have brought the history up to his own times and would have included the accounts of other governors of Sind who followed Muhammad b. Qasim. Secondly, there is a cryptic reference in Yaqut's *Mu'-jam-Buldan* to the effect that the account of the 'Idol of Multan' has been mentioned by 'al-Madaini (sic) in *Futuh al-Hind-wa-al-Sind*'. It appears probable that "al Madaini" may be the scribes error for "al-Madaini". The internal evidence from *Fateh Nama* suggests that the original name of this book was *Tarikh-e-Hind-wa-Fateh-e-Sind.* Now these two titles are so similar that they lead to the inference that possibly *Fateh Nama* is the same work of al-Madaini which is referred to by Yaqut as *Futuh al-Hind-wa-al-Sind.* If this be correct, the original Arabic of *Fateh Nama* must have been composed by al-Madaini between 150 A. H. (when al-Madaini was at least 15 years old) and 225 A.H. (when al-Madaini died). More probably, al-Madaini composed this book in the later part of his life incorporating into it, his two earlier works, viz., *Kitab Fath Mukran* (كتاب فتح مكران) and *Kitab Thaghr-al-Hind* (كتاب ثغرالهند).

قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد

سلطان صلاح الدین ایوبی کا مستند ترین سوانح نگار

(از محمد زکریا مائل)

چھٹی اور ساتویں صدی ھجری میں جن نامور اور سربرآوردہ علما نے اپنا ایک امتیازی مقام پیدا کیا ان میں علی الخصوص سیرت نگاروں اور مورخوں کے طبقے میں قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد کا نام بھی بقائے دوام حاصل کرچکا ھے جنھوں نے سلطان صلاح الدین جیسے مجاھد اعظم کے چشم دید حالات لکھکر فن سیرت نگاری میں ایک نہایت بیش قیمت اضافہ کیا ھے - ان کی کتاب سیرت صلاح الدین معرکہ ھائے صلیب و ھلال کا معتبر ترین رکارڈ سمجھی جاتی ھے - قاضی صاحب سلطان کے ھم عصر ھی نہیں بلکہ اس کے قاضی عسکر اس کے رزم و بزم کے رفیق اور اس کی آخری عمر کی معرکہ آرائیوں کے عینی شاھد تھے - سلطان کے عادات و اخلاق اور اس کی مجاھدانہ زندگی کے واقعات کی جیسی سچی اور جیتی جاگتی تصویر انھوں نے کھینچی ھے اس کی مثال ان معرکوں کے کسی مورخ کے یہاں نہیں ملتی -

قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد جہاں اپنی مذکورہ خصوصیات میں منفرد ھیں وھیں یہ خصوصیات بھی ان کے لئے مقدر ھوچکی تھی کہ خود ان کی سوانح حیات لکھنے کی سعادت قاضی ابن خلکان جیسے یگانۂ روزگار فاضل کے حصے میں آئی جو ان کے خرمن فیض کا

خوشہ چین تھے اور قاضی صاحب کے مدرسے میں تعلیم پاچکے تھے انہوں نے قاضی صاحب کی عمر کا آخری دور اپنی آنکھوں سے دیکھا اور ان کے انتقال کے بعد ان کے جنازے کی نماز اور تدفین میں شرکت کی۔

یوں تو قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد کے حالات جستہ جستہ اور مورخین نے بھی لکھے ہیں لیکن ایک تو وہ بہت کم ہیں اور دوسرے جو کچھ بھی لکھے ہیں کم و بیش سب کا ماخذ اس خلکان کی کتاب وفیات الاعیان ہی ہے جو اس موضوع پر بہت مستند اور سیر حاصل مواد بہم پہنچاتی ہے اس لئے اس مقالہ کا بڑا ماخذ بھی اسی کتاب کو سمجھنا چاہئے۔

نام اور نسبی حالات | ابن شداد کا اصل نام یوسف ہے۔ سلسلہ نسب جس حد تک معلوم ہوسکا یہ ہے! یوسف بن رافع بن تمیم بن عتبہ بن محمد بن عتاب الاسدی۔ بہاءالدین لقب ہے، کنیت پہلے ابوالعز تھی بعد میں ابوالمحاسن رکھی۔ ابن شداد مشہور ہونے کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ یہ چھوٹے ہی تھے کہ باپ کا سایہ سر سے اٹھ گیا اس لئے نانا کے یہاں پرورش پائی جن کا نام شداد تھا اور ان کا گھرانہ بنی شداد کے نام سے موسوم تھا۔ اسی لئے قاضی بہاءالدین اپنے اصل نام و لقب وغیرہ کے مقابلے میں ابن شداد کے نام سے زیادہ مشہور ہوئے۔

ابن شداد رمضان سنہ ۵۳۹ھ (۱۱۴۵ع) کی دسویں شب کو موصل میں پیدا ہوئے۔ یہیں کم سنی میں قرآن کریم حفظ کیا۔ پھر جب مشہور اندلسی فاضل شیخ ابوبکر یحیٰ (نمبر۱) بن سعدون القرطبی موصل آئے تو ان کے آگے زانوے تلذ تہ کیا۔ ان سے قرآن کریم کی ساتوں قرائتیں سیکھیں اور فن تجوید میں کمال پیدا کیا۔

تحصیل علم | یہی قرطبی عالم ابن شداد کے سب سے پہلے استاد ہیں۔ ابن شداد نے ان کا دامن پکڑا تو پورے گیارہ برس تک انہیں کے سرچشمہ علم

(نمبر ۱) - دیکھئے وفیات الاعیان ص ۸۱ ج ۶ طبع ۱۹۴۸ء مصر

سے سیراب ہوتے رہے بلکہ بزرگوار شیخ نے جس سال سفر آخرت اختیار کیا اس سال بھی ان سے استفادہ کیا اس لئے یوں کہنا چاہئے کہ قاضی ابن شداد نے شیخ کے دم آخر تک ان کے خرمن فیض سے خوشہ چینی کی سعادت حاصل کی -

قاضی صاحب نے اس دوران میں تجوید کی بیشتر کتابوں کے علاوہ روایت حدیث شروح حدیث اور تفسیر وغیرہ علوم کی تعلیم شیخ سے پائی اور جب فارغ ہوئے تو محترم استاد نے اپنے قلم سے جو سند عطا کی اس میں قاضی صاحب کے بیان کے مطابق اعتراف کیا کہ ''شہدلی بانہ ماقرآعلیہ احد'' اکثرمما قرآت'' (جتنا میں نے ان سے پڑھا ہے اس سے زیادہ کسی نے ان سے نہیں پڑھا) -

فاضل شیخ نے جن جن حدیثوں کی روایت کی تھی یا جو کچھ ان سے پڑھا تھا قاضی صاحب نے ان سب کو دو جلدوں میں محفوظ کر لیا تھا اور ان کی تمام مرویات کی فہرست اپنے پاس رکھی تھی جنھیں یہ ان کے حوالے سے روایت کیا کرتے تھے -

یہ فہرست جن تفصیلات پر مشتمل تھی ان سے ظاہر ہے کہ شیخ نے بخاری ومسلم کی روایت متعدد طریق سے کی تھی - ان کے علاوہ حدیث کی بیشتر کتابیں اور ادب کی اکثر کتابیں پڑھائی تھیں - ان کی روایت کردہ آخری کتاب شرح الغریب مولفہ ابو عبیدالقاسم بن سلام تھی جو قاضی بہاءالدین نے آخر شعبان ۵۶۷ھ شیخ سے پڑھی تھی - ابن خلکان نے قاضی بہاءالدین کے حوالہ سے اس کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے توضیح کی ہے کہ یہ وہ سنہ ہے جس میں شیخ کی وفات ہوئی -

ابن شداد نے شیخ یحییٰ بن سعدون کے علاوہ اور جن جن اساتذہ سے تعلیم پائی ان کے نام تفصیل سے بیان کئے ہیں اور ہر ایک کی اجازت اور سند وغیرہ کا ذکر کیا ہے اور ان کی تاریخیں درج کی ہیں - ان فضلا کے نام یہ ہیں: شیخ ابوالبرکات عبداللہ بن الخضر بن الحسین (ابن الشیرجی) شیخ مجدالدین ابوالفضل عبداللہ بن احمد بن محمد بن عبدالقاہرالطوسی، قاضی فخرالدین ابوالرضا سعید بن عبداللہ بن القاسم الشہر - زوری، حافظ مجدالدین ابو محمد عبداللہ بن محمد بن عبداللہ الاشیری الصنہاجی، حافظ سراج الدین ابو بکر محمد بن علی الحیانی - ان حضرات کے ماسوا ابن شداد نے ابوالغیث شیخ رضی الدین قزوینی اور بغداد کی شہدہ کاتبہ سے بھی حدیث سنی - تحصیل علم کی اس تفصیل سے ابن شداد کے وصیع مبلغ علم کا اندازہ کیا جا سکتا ہے - یہ فقہ شافعی اور حدیث پر بڑا عبور رکھتے تھے اور الفقیہ الشافعی کے لقب کے نام سے یاد کئے جاتے تھے -

قاضی صاحب کی علمی خدمات | قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد کی زندگی علم و ادب کی خدمت کے لئے وقف تھی۔ انہوں نے سنہ ٥٦٥ھ (١١٧٠ع) میں بغداد کا سفر کیا اور وہاں کے شہرۂ آفاق مدرسہ نظامیہ میں مددگار مدرس یا معید کی خدمت پر مامور ہوئے ۔ اس کے چار سال بعد سنہ ٥٦٩ھ (١١٧٤ع) میں اپنے وطن موصل پہنچے اور کمال الدین ابوالفضل محمدالشہر زوری کے قائم کئے ہوئے مدرسہ موصل میں معلم مقرر ہوئے اس دوران میں بکثرت طلبا نے ان کی شاگردی کا شرف حاصل کیا ۔

قاضی ابن خلکان جیسا بلند مرتبہ اور فاضل مورخ بھی ابن شداد کے خرمن فیض کا خوشہ چین رہ چکا ہے ۔ اس نے ان کے مدرسے میں اپنے اور اپنے بھائی کے تعلیم پانے کے حالات بڑی شرح و بسط سے لکھے ہیں اور بیان کیا ہے کہ ''وام نزل عنده الیٰ ان توفی'' (ہم ان کے وفات پانے تک انہیں کے پاس رہے)

قاضی ابن خلکان دمشق کے حاکم رہ چکے تھے اس زمانے سے متعلق انھوں نے ایک دستاویز کے ضمن میں ابن شداد کی نسبت یہ الفاظ استعمال کئے ہیں ۔ فقدکان شیخنا واخذنا عنه کثیراً (وہ ہمارے شیخ تھے اور ہم نے ان سے بہت کچھ حاصل کیا)

ابن خلکان نے قاضی بہاءالدین کے اساتذہ کا حال تو بہت شرح و بسط لکھا سے ہے مگر ان کے تلامذہ کے اجمالی ذکر پر اکتفا کیا ہے ۔ بہر حال قاضی صاحب کے اور شاگردوں کے نام علم میں نہ آئیں تب بھی ان کے شاگردوں میں صرف ابن خلکان جیسے زندہ جاوید اور باکمال مصنف و مورخ کا نام کافی ہے ۔

قاضی صاحب کے فضل و کمال کی شہرت دور دور پہنچ چکی تھی ۔ اس کا اندازہ ابن خلکان کی اس روایت سے ہوتا ہے جس میں وہ لکھتے ہیں :

ایک روز اہل مغرب میں سے ایک شخص قاضی ابن شداد کے پاس آیا جو ابوالحجاج یوسف کے نام سے مشہور تھا ۔ یہ شخص

ادب اور حکمت میں بڑا فاضل تھا - چونکہ قاضی صاحب کا ضعف اور لاغری انتہا کو پہنچ چکی تھی وہ انہیں اس حال میں دیکھ کر بہت زیادہ متاثر ہوا اور اس نے ان کو مخاطب کر کے یہ شعر پڑھے -

لو یعلم الناس مافی ان تعیش لھم بکوا لانک من ثوب الصبا عاری
ولو اطاقوا انتقاصاً من حیاتھم لما فدوک بشیٔ غیر اعماد

(اگر لوگ یہ جانتے کہ ان کے لئے آپ کے زندہ رہنے میں کیا کیا فائدے ھیں تو وہ رو دیتے یہ دیکھ کر کہ آپ نوجوانی کے لباس سے عاری ھیں - اور اگر ان میں اس کی قدرت ہوتی کہ اپنی زندگی میں سے کچھ گھٹا سکیں تو یقیناً وہ آپ پر اپنی عمروں کے سوا کوئی چیز نچھاور نہ کرتے)

اس ضمن میں قاضی صاحب کی اس عالمانہ جد و جہد اور علم دوستی کا تذکرہ بھی مناسب معلوم ھوتا ھے جو انھوں نے حلب پہنچنے کے بعد مدرسوں کے قیام کی صورت میں سرانجام دیں - وہ جس زمانے میں یہاں آئے انھوں نے دیکھا کہ حلب میں مدرسے بہت کم ھیں اور علما بھی بہت تھوڑے ھیں اس لئے انھوں نے اس شہر کے معاملات درست کرنے پر توجہ کی - یہاں متعدد فقہا کو جمع کیا اور اپنے زمانے میں بکثرت مدرسے قائم کئے -

قاضی صاحب کے مشغلۂ درس وتدریس کا یہ عالم تھا کہ بوڑھے ھو گئے تھے مگر احادیث کی تعلیم برابر دئے جاتے تھے - اس مقصد کے لئے انھوں نے اپنے گھر کے پاس ایک حجرہ علحدہ کر رکھا تھا جس میں وہ جاڑا ھو یا گرمی ھر موسم میں درس دیا کرتے تھے جمعہ کی نماز کے بعد لوگ بڑے شوق سے ان کے گھر حاضر ھوا کرتے تھے تاکہ انھیں حدیثوں کا اعادہ کرنے میں اور ان کی پر لطف تقریر سے لطف اندوز ھوں جو بہت پر مغز ھوتی تھی اور بالعموم ادب کے مختلف شعبوں پر حاوی ھوتی تھی -

قاضی صاحب نے سلطان نورالدین محمود زنگی کے مدرسے کے مقابل ایک مدرسہ باب العراق کے قریب تعمیر کیا تھا جس کا سال تعمیر بروایت ابن خلکان ۶۰۱ ھجری ھے - اس کے پاس ھی انھوں نے ایک دارالحدیث تعمیر کیا تھا -

ان دونوں عمارتوں کے درمیان اپنے دفن کے لئے ایک مکان بنایا تھا جس کے دو دروازے تھے ۔ ایک مدرسہ کی جانب دوسرا دارالحدیث کی طرف اور دونوں سمتوں میں آمنے سامنے کھڑکیاں تھیں -

قاضی صاحب نے حلب کے حالات درست کر دئے تو اس کا بڑا اچھا اثر پڑا - مختلف مقامات سے فقہا وہاں پہنچنے لگے اور بکثرت لوگ جمع ہو گئے اور درس و تدریس کا چرچا رہنے لگا ۔

سفر حج اور ملاقات سلطان صلاح الدین سے جیسا کہ قاضی بہاءالدین نے اپنی کتاب ملجا رالحکام عندالتباس الحکام کے شروع میں لکھا ہے، یہ سنہ ۵۸۳ ھ (۱۱۸۸ع) میں حج کے لئے گئے اور اسی سلسلے میں یروشلم اور جروں کے مقامات مقدسہ اور بیت المقدس کی زیارت سے مشرف ہوئے جن دنوں یہ دمشق میں تھے سلطان صلاح الدین نے قلعہ کوکب کا محاصرہ کر رکھا تھا - سلطان کو ان کی موجودگی کی اطلاع ہوئی تو انھیں بلا بھیجا -

یہ سلطان کے یہاں باریاب ہوئے تو وہ بڑے اعزاز و اکرام سے پیش آیا ان سے راستے کے حالات پوچھے اور دوران سفر میں جن مشائخ علم وعمل سے ان کی ملاقات ہوئی تھی ان کے حالات دریافت کئے ۔ اس کے بعد سلطان نے ان سے فرمائش کی کہ حدیث کا کوئی جز سنائیں - انھوں نے ایک جز پیش کیا جس میں بخاری کے اذکار جمع کئے تھے یہ خبر خود سلطان نے قاضی صاحب کے سامنے پڑھا - پھر جب یہ سلطان کے پاس سے چلے تو عمادالدین کاتب الاصبہانی ان کے پیچھے ہو لئے اور ان سے کہا سلطان آپ سے کہتے ہیں کہ جب آپ زیارت سے واپس ہو کر واپسی کا عزم کریں تو ہمیں مطلع کردیں - ہمیں آپ سے ایک کام ہے ۔ چنانچہ واپسی کے وقت قاضی بہاءالدین نے سلطان کو اطلاع دی جس نے انھیں ملاقات کے لئے طلب کر لیا -

اس اثنا میں قاضی صاحب نے سلطان کے لئے ایک کتاب تالیف کرلی تھی جس میں جہاد کے فضائل اور مجاہدین کے اجروثواب کی تفصیل تھی - اسے تین بیاضوں میں مرتب کیا تھا ۔ اب جو حصن الاکراد کے میدان میں سلطان سے ملاقلت ہوئی تو انھوں نے یہ کتاب سلطان کی خدمت میں پیش کی -

سلطان کی ملازمت اس واقع کے تھوڑے دنوں بعد آغاز جمادی الاول سنہ ۵۸۴ ھ میں قاضی بہاءالدین، سلطان صلاح الدین کی ملازمت میں آگئے اور قاضی عسکر اور حاکم قدس کے معزز مناصب پر سرفراز ہوئے -

ابن خلکان نے قاضی بہاءالدین کے بیان کے حوالے سے لکھا ھے کہ تاضی صاحب موصوف شیخ الشیوخ صدرالدین عبدالرحیم بن اسماعیل اور قاضی محی الدین بن الشہرزوری کی ھمراھی میں سلطان کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوئے تھے اتفاقاً اسی زمانے میں بہاءالدین شقی کا انتقال ھو گیا جو مصر کے خطیب اور مدرسہ منازل العز کے مدرس تھے ۔ سلطان نے اس موقع پر قاضی صاحب کو اس مدرسے کی معلمی پیش کی مگر انھوں نے اسے قبول کرنے سے انکار کردیا - اس کے بعد ھی وہ مناصب ملے جن کا ذکر سطور بالا میں کیا جاچکا ھے۔

سلطان کی مہموں میں قاضی صاحب کی رفاقت | قاضی صاحب سلطان سے اس تعلق کے بعد سنہ ٥٨٩ ھ تک سلطان کے سفروحضر کے رفیق بنے رھے - یہی سال سلطان صلاح الدین کی وفات کا ھے ۔ گویا انھیں کم وبیش چھہ سال تک سلطان کے ساتھ رھنے کا موقع ملا ۔ اس دوران میں قاضی صاحب کو سلطان کے تمام اوصاف واخلاق بہت قریب سے دیکھنے کا موقع ملا - قاضی صاحب نے اپنی کتاب المحاسن الیو سفیہ میں جس کا مفصل بیان آئندہ سطور میں ملیگا، جابجا اپنے اور سلطان کے معاملات کا ذکر کیا ھے - مثلاً ایک جگہ سلطان کے قضا شدہ روزوں کا تذکرہ کرتے ہوئے لکھتے ھیں ۔

فکان یصوم وانا اثبت الایام التی
یصو مہا للان القاضی کان غائباً

(وہ روزے رکھتے تھے اور میں روزے کے ان ایام کا اندراج کرتا جاتا تھا کیونکہ قاضی اس زمانے میں موجود نہ تھے) ۔

سطور بالا میں قاضی سے مراد قاضی الفاضل ھیں (نمبر ١) جن کے سپرد یہ کام تھے کہ وہ قضاشدہ روزوں کا حساب لکھتے رھیں -

سلطان کے شوق حدیث کا حال بیان کرتے ہوئے لکھا ھے :-

"سلطان کو حدیث خود پڑھنا بہت محبوب تھا - وہ تنہائی کے وقت اکثر مجھے طلب کرلیا کرتے اور حدیث کی بعض کتابیں منگوا کر ان کو پڑھنے لگتے اور جب کسی ایسی حدیث کی نوبت آتی جس میں عبرت کا مضمون ہوتا تو ان پر رقت طاری ہوجاتی اور آنکھیں اشک بار ہوجاتیں"

نمبر ١ - ان کا پورا نام ابوعلی عبدالرحمٰن اللنجمی العسقلانی ھے اور قاضی الفاضل کے نام سے مشہور ھیں - یہ بڑے لائق قاضی تھے اور سلطان کے نہایت عزیز ومقرب وزیر تھے ١١٣٥ ع میں عسقلان میں پیدا ہوئے اور ١٢٠٠ ع میں مصر میں وفات پائی (Life of Saladin)

''اسی ضمن میں ایک واقعہ یہ بھی لکھا ہے کہ ایک بار سلطان کو فوج کی دو صفوں کے درمیان حدیث کے دو اجزا سنائے گئے جس کی تقریب یہ ہوئی کہ میں نے سلطان سے کہا کہ حدیث کی سماعت تمام اہم مقامات پر ہوچکی ہے مگر یہ معلوم نہیں ہوا کہ در صفوں کے درمیان حدیث سنی گئی ہو۔ اگر میرے آقا یہ مثال کردیں تو بہتر ہے۔ یہ سن کر سلطان نے اجازت دی اور مامور قاری نے حدیث کے اجزا لا کر سنادئے۔ اس وقت ہم سب دونوں لشکروں کے درمیان اپنے اپنے گھوڑوں پر بیٹھے ہوئے کبھی بڑھتے تھے اور کبھی ٹھر جاتے تھے۔''

''صلیبی جنگوں کے دوران میں ایک موقع مسلمانوں کے لئے بہت نازک آگیا تھا۔ قاضی صاحب نے اس کو مفصل لکھا ہے اور بیان کیا ہے کہ اس رات کو نہ سلطان رات بھر سوئے نہ میں۔ میں نے سلطان کو مسلمانوں کی فتحمندی کے لئے دعا کا جو طریقہ بتلایا تھا سلطان نے اس پر عمل کیا۔ ''میں نے بھی حسب معمول ان کے ایک جاقب ہو کر نماز ادا کی۔ سلطان نے اذان و اقامت کے درمیان دو رکعتیں پڑھیں۔ پھر میں نے دیکھا کہ وہ سجدے میں پڑے ہوئے ہیں ان کی داڑھی کے سفید بالوں پر آنسو ٹپ ٹپ گر رہے ہیں اور بالوں سے بہہ بہہ کر جانماز تک آ رہے ہیں۔ لیکن میں کچھ سن نہ سکا کہ وہ دعا میں کیا کہہ رہے تھے''

ان چند مثالوں سے اندازہ کیا جاسکتا ہے کہ سلطان صلاح الدین جیسے مجاھد اعظم کے ساتھ قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد کے تعلقات کس نوعیت کے تھے اور وہ کس طرح ان کے تمام معاملات میں ان کے شریک اور مشیر کار بنے ہوئے تھے۔

سلطان کا انتقال ۱۷ صفر ۵۸۹ ھ کو چہار شنبہ کے دن نماز فجر کے بعد ہوا تھا۔ اس رات کو قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد اور قاضی الفاضل سلطان کی خدمت میں موجود تھے۔ انہوں نے اپنی کتاب میں سلطان کی نزع وغیرہ کا حال بہت تفصیل سے لکھا ہے۔

سلطان کی وفات کے بعد سلطان کے انتقال کے بعد ایوبی شہزادوں میں کچھ نزاع اُٹھ کھڑا ہوا۔ اس موقع پر قاضی بہاءالدین ان کے درمیان صلح کرانے کی غرض سے حلب گئے جہاں کا فرمانروا سلطان مرحوم کا بیٹا الظاہر تھا۔ الظاہر نے انہیں ملک العزیز فرمانروائے مصر کے پاس سفارت پر بھیجا۔ جب یہ اس مہم سے کامیاب واپس آئے تو الظاہر نے انہیں حلب کا قاضی بنادیا

الظاہر کے بعد یہ صرف قاضی ہی نہ رہے بلکہ الظاہر کے بیٹے العزیز کے مشیر خصوصی (پریوی کونسلر) وزیر اور منتظم اوقاف بھی ہوگئے - اس زمانے میں العزیز کمسن تھا اور اس کا اتابک یا اتالیق السطواشی شہاب الدین ابو سعید طغرل تھا جو قاضی بہاءالدین ہی کے مشورہ سے معاملات حکومت کا متولی مقرر تھا - اس کے اور قاضی صاحب کے اختیارات اتنے وسیع تھے کہ کوئی چیز ان کے دائرہ سے باہر نہ تھی -

قاضی صاحب کے زمانے میں حلب میں فقہا کا بڑا احترام تھا اور ان کے ساتھ بڑی مراعات سے کام لیا جاتا تھا - خصوصاً قاضی صاحب کے مدرسے کے لوگوں کی بڑی عزت کی جاتی تھی - یہ فقہا سلطان العزیز ابن سلطان الظاہر کی مجالس میں آتے اور ماہ رمضان میں اسی کے دستر خوان پر روزہ افطار کرتے -

جب قاضی صاحب کی عمر چھیاسی سال ہوچکی تھی اس وقت انہیں دوبارہ مصر بھیجا گیا تاکہ وہاں سے ملک الکامل کی لڑکی کو اپنے ساتھ لائیں جو العزیز سے منسوب تھی- اور جسکا نکاح قاضی صاحب نے ہی پڑھایا تھا - جون ۱۲۳۲ھ میں یہ اس مہم سے واپس آئے تو انہوں نے دیکھا کہ طغرل معزول ہوچکا ہے اور العزیز نے تمام انتظامات خود اپنے ہاتھ میں لے رکھے ہیں - اب نئی پود آگے بڑھ چکی تھی اور حکومت کے معاملات اور مہمات میں قاضی صاحب سے مشورہ کی نوبت نہ آتی تھی الملک العزیز پر وہ نوجوان چھائے ہوئے تھے جو اس کے ہم نشین اور ہم جلیس بنے ہوئے تھے - اس کا زیادہ وقت انہیں کی صحبت میں گذرتا تھا اور ان میں کوئی ایسا نظر نہ آتا تھا جو قاضی صاحب کو پسند ہوتا اسلئے وہ ہمیشہ کے لئے خانہ نشین ہو گئے -

قاضی صاحب کی ادبی صحبتیں قاضی صاحب بڑے خوش مزاح اور خوش گفتار شخص تھے - ان کی تقریر میں ادبیت کا رنگ غالب رہتا تھا - وہ اپنی مجالس میں موقع موقع سے اچھے اچھے شعر پڑھا کرتے تھے جن سے ان کے حسن مذاق کا پتہ چلتا ہے - ابن خلکان نے ان کے سنائے ہوئے کئی اشعار نقل کئے ہیں اور ان پر لطیف انداز میں ناقدانہ بحث کی ہے - ذیل میں اس قسم کے چند شعر درج کئے جاتے ہیں -

قاضی صاحب صر در نامی شاعر کا یہ شعر بہت پڑھا کرتے تھے -

دعہوذہم بالرمل قد نقضت * وکذاک ما یبنی علی الرمل

(ان کے عہد وپیمان مقام رمل پر ٹوٹ گئے - اور رمل (ریت) پر جو جو عمارت بنائی جاتی ہے اس کا یہ ہی حال ہوتا ہے) نمبر۔۱

قاضی صاحب ذکر کیا کرتے تھے کہ جس زمانے میں ہم قلعه صفدر میں مقیم تھے قاضی الفاضل نے مجھے کسی کے یہ شعر سنائے -

قلت للنز لته لما ان المت بلهاتی

بحیاتی خل حلقی فهو دهلیز حیاتی

(جب نزلے نے میرے حلق کا ارادہ کیا تو مینے کہا "مری جان کی قسم مرے حلق کو چھوڑ دے کیونکہ وہ میری جان کی دھلیز ہے)

اس موقع پریہ ملحوظ رہے کہ قاضی بہاءالدین دائمی نزلے کے مریض تھے۔

جب قاضی صاحب اس کمزوری پر اور اٹھنے بیٹھنے اور نماز ادا کرنے سے مجبوری کی حالت پر نظر کرتے تو یہ شعر پڑھا کرتے تھے -

من یتمن العمر فلیدرع صبرا علی فقد احبائه

ومن یعمر یرفی نفسه ما یتمناه لاعدائه

(جسے عمر کی تمنا ہو اسے چاھئے کہ وہ احباب کے کھونے پر صبر کو اپنی ڈھال بنالے اور جو معمر ہوگا وہ خود اپنے اندر اس حالت کو دیکھه لے گا جس کی تمنا وہ اپنے دشمنوں کے لئے کیا کرتا تھا -)

آخری عمر اور وفات عمر کے آخری زمانے مین قاضی بہاءالدین کی جو حالت ہوگئی تھی اس کا خاکہ قاضی ابن خلکان نے بہت دلچسپ پیرایہ میں کھینچا ہے - قاضی صاحب کو کھانسی کی بہت تکلیف دہ شکایت تھی اس لئے وہ اپنا حجرہ شاذ و نادر ہی چھوڑتے اور زیادہ وقت وہیں گذارا کرتے - موسم سرما میں ایک بڑی انگیٹھی ان کے پاس رکھی ہوتی جس میں کوئلے دھکتے رہتے تھے - وہ اکثر پوستین یا گرم لبادہ پہنتے جس کے نیچے کئی لمبے کرتے ہوتے تھے - ان کی نشست ایک نہایت نرم مسند پر رہتی جو کئی قالینوں کے ڈھیر پر بچھی ہوتی - بڑھاپے نے انہیں ایسا کمزور بنادیا تھا جیسے کوئی چھوٹا پرندہ ابھی پیدا ہوا ہو اور اسکے بال و پر تک نہ نکلے ہوں - ان کی

نمبر ۱ - مرزا غالب کا یہ شعر بہت مشہور ہے -

تری نازکی سے جانا کہ بندھا تھا عہد بودا * کبھی تو نہ توڑ سکتا اگر استوار ہوتا

ٹانگوں پر گوشت اتنا کم رہ گیا تھا کہ وہ پتلی لکڑی کی طرح نظر آتی تھیں - وہ نماز ادا کرنے کے لئے بڑی صعوبت سے چلتے اور بمشکل حرکت کرنے کے قابل ہوتے - شدت کی گرمی کے سوا کسی اور زمانے میں وہ نماز پڑھنے کے لئے مسجد تک نہ جاسکتے تھے - اتنی گرمی میں بھی جب کبھی وہ مسجد پہنچ جاتے تو بڑی دشواری کے ساتھہ نماز کے لئے کھڑے ہوتے اور ہروقت انکے گرپڑنے کا اندیشہ رہتا -

آہستہ آہستہ سن رسیدہ قاضی صاحب کی یہ حالت ہو گئی کہ وہ دوستوں کو بھی نہ پہچان سکتے تھے - اس کے بعد وہ تھوڑے دن بیمار رہے - آخر چہار شنبہ ۱۴ صفر ۶۳۲ھ (۸ نومبر ۱۲۳۴ء) کو وفات پائی اور اسی مکان میں جس کا ذکر ان کے مدرسے اور دارالحدیث کے ضمن میں ہوچکا ہے دفن کئے گئے -

قاضی ابن خلکان ان کے دفن کے وقت موجود تھے -

قاضی بہاءالدین کے کوئی اولاد نہ تھی نہ کوئی قریبی عزیز تھے اس لئے کوئی وارث بھی نہ تھا - انھوں نے اپنے انتقال سے پہلے اپنے گھر کو صوفیوں کی خانقاہ مقرر کردیا تھا - اپنے مزار کے لئے جو مکان تجویز کیا تھا جس کا ذکر ''علمی خدمات،، کے تحت کیا جاچکا ہے اس کی دونوں کھڑکیوں پر سات سات قاری مقرر کردئے تھے تاکہ ان کے مرنے کے بعد قبر پر ہر رات کو ایک قرآن ختم کیا کریں - یہ قاری ایک مدت دراز تک قاضی صاحب کے مزار پر قرآن خوانی کرتے رہے -

قاضی صاحب کی تالیفات قاضی بہاءالدین ابن شداد نے جو کتابیں اپنی علمی یادگار کی حیثیت سے چھوڑی ہیں ان کے نام حسب ذیل ہیں -

۱ النوادر السلطانیہ والمحاسن الیوسفیہ (ایک جلد میں)

۲ ملجاءالحکام عندالتباس اللحکام (احکام قضا وغیرہ پر دو جلدوں میں)

۳ دلائل اللحکام (اس کتاب میں ان احادیث سے بحث کی ہے جن سے احکام کا استنباط کیا گیا ہے - یہ کتاب بھی دو جلدوں میں ہے)

۴ الموجزالباہر (فقہ میں)

۵ فضائل جہاد وغیرہ پر ایک کتاب جس کا ذکر 'سفرحج' کے تحت کیا جا چکا ہے -

صاحب کی تمام کتابوں میں اس کتاب کو سب سے زیادہ امتیازی مقام حاصل ہے۔ انسائیکلوپیڈیا آف اسلام کے مولف نے اسے قاضی صاحب کا "چیف ورک" (سب سے بڑی تالیف) قرار دیا ہے۔ مجلس ادارت شرکہ طبع الکتب العربیہ (قاھرہ مصر) نے اپنے ۶ صفر ۱۳۱۷ھ کے جلسے میں اس کتاب کی طباعت کا فیصلہ کیاتھا " اس لئے کہ یہ عظیم الشان سلطان (صلاح الدین) بلاد اسلامیہ پر صلیبی غارتگریوں کے دوران میں عظمت اسلام کا سب سے بڑا مجدد تھا اور اس لئے کہ یہ عظیم القدر کتاب اس مجدد عظیم کی تاریخ زندگی پر بہترین منضبط کتابوں میں سے ہے"۔

خود قاضی بہاءالدین (رحمتہ اللہ) نے کتاب کے آغاز میں وجہ تالیف پر جو روشنی ڈالی ہے اس کا ترجمہ یہاں درج کیا جاتا ہے۔ وہ لکھتے ہیں:

"میں نے بہادر ممالیک کے ان واقعات کی تحقیق کی ہے جن کی صحت میں شکوک و شبہات کی بدولت رخنے پڑچکے ہیں - میں نے ان آنکھوں سے مصائب وتکلیفات پر ایسے صبر کا مشاہدہ کیا ہے جس سے ایمان قوی ہوجاتا ہے اس استقلال و استقامت کے۔ عجیب واقعات اتنے زیادہ ہیں کہ تصور و خیال میں نہیں آسکتے - زبان انہیں ادا کرسکتی ہے نہ قلم انہیں لکھ سکتا ہے۔ مگر اسکے باوجود جو شخص ان سے باخبر ہو اس کے لئے ان کا چھپانا ناممکن ہے اور وہ انہیں بیان کئے بغیر نہیں رہ سکتا"۔

"چونکہ ممالیک کے احسانات، ان کی محبت کے حقوق اور فرض خدمت نے مجھ میں یہ احساس پیدا کیا کہ میں ان کی جن نیکیوں اور خوبیوں کی تحقیق کرچکا ہوں ان کو ظاہر کرنا اور ان کے جو محاسن اخلاق میرے علم میں ہیں انہیں بیان کرنا مجھ پر واجب ہے اس لئے میں نے مناسب سمجھا کہ ان میں سے صرف ان واقعات کو اختصار سے لکھوں جو میرے مشاھدے میں آئے ہیں یاکم از کم ایسی خبروں پر اکتفا کروں جنہیں میرے نزدیک یقین کا درجہ حاصل ہے چنانچہ اس کتاب میں قاضی صاحب نے بکثرت چشم دید واقعات کا تذکرہ کیا ہے۔

قاضی صاحب نے اس کتاب کو دو حصوں میں تقسیم کیا ہے۔ پہلے حصے میں سلطان کی ولادت و نشوونما و خصائص واوصاف اور ان اخلاق پسندیدہ کا بیان ہے جو نگاہ شرع میں برتری رکھتی ہیں اس ضمن میں سلطان کے اخلاق سے متعلق جتنے عنوان قائم کئے ہیں سب کی ابتدا بطور استشہاد کسی قرآنی

ایت یا حدیث سے کی ھے۔ یہ حصہ اس موضوع پر نہایت سیر حاصل ہے اور اس میں جو کچھ بھی لکھا گیا ہے وہ قاضی صاحب کے مشاہدہ پر مبنی ہے۔ دوسرے حصے میں سلطان کی زندگی کے تغیرات و واقعات اور فتوحات کی تفصیل و تاریخ لکھی ھے۔ یہ کتاب ۲۰۲ صفحات پر شائع ہوئی ہے اور قاضی صاحب نے اس کے اختتام یہ اثر آفرین شعر درج کیا ھے۔

ثم انقضت تلک السنوان واهله فکا نها و کا نهم احلام

(پھر یہ سنین اور ان سے تعلق رکھنے والے لوگ اس طرح گزر گئے جیسے یہ دونوں خواب تھے) :

اس کتاب کی اہمیت اس درجہ تسلیم کی گئی کہ خود عیسائیوں کی معرکتہ الارا انجمن ریڈ کراس سوسائٹی نے اسکا انگریزی ترجمہ فٹ نوٹوں اور نقشوں کے ساتھ Life of Saladin کے نام سے شائع کیا ھے۔ مگر اس ترجمے میں بھی اسی قسم کی غلطیاں نظر آتی ھیں جو انگریز مستشرقین کے یہاں اکثر دیکھی گئی ھیں۔ تاہم ان کی یہ خدمت بنظر استحسان سے دیکھے جانے کی مستحق ھے۔

مختصر یہ کہ قاضی صاحب کی یہ کتاب سیرت نگاری کے معیار پر پوری اترتی ھے اور اپنی گونا گوں خوبیوں کی بنا پر بیش از بیش قدر شناسی کی حقدار ھے۔

کتابیات

اس مقالے کی تیاری میں حسب ذیل ماخذ پیش نظر رہے ھیں۔

وفعات الاعیان ج ۶ طبع جدید مصر۔

النوادر السلطانیہ والمحاسن الیوسفیہ۔

معجم المطبوعات العربیہ ج ۱۔

انسائیکلو پیڈیا آف اسلام ج ۲۔

مقدمہ لائف آف سلاڈین طبع لندن۔

Section II

HIND-PAKISTAN HISTORY

The Hind-Pakistan History Section met on Wednesday, the 16th February, 1955, at 10-30 A. M.

The Proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Qur'an. After the recitation Dr. A. Halim, delivered his Presidential Address.

On the conclusion of his address the President asked the delegates and scholars to read their papers.

The list of the papers read or taken as read is given below :—

1. Historical Research in the Punjab
Mr. Zafrul Islam
2. Combined operations of Sultan Mahmud etc. :
Lt. Col. K. A. Rashid
3. Hindustan ki Razm wa Bazm :
Pandit Bashiruddin
4. 1857 ki Jang-i-Azadi men Bahadur Shah ka Hissa :
Mufti Intizamullah Shihabi
5. Sulaiman Karrani etc.
Dr. A. Rahim
6. Haji Shariatullah :
Mr. Nurul Karim
7. A peep into Akbar's patronage etc. :
Dr. A. Halim
8 Chronology of the first two Sultans of Madura :
S. A. Q. Hussaini
9. Faraiḍi movement :
Dr. A. Bari
10. Independence of Bengal :
Mr. A. Karim
11. Husain Shah in Bengali literature :
Mr. A. Karim
12. Some Muslim writers of Bengali literature etc. :
Mr. Mansuruddin
13. Akbar and Shaikh Mubarak :
Dr. Bashir

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On February 17th an excursion to Mohan-jo-daro was organized by the State authorities.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. A. Halim, M. A., Ph. D.

Professor of History, University of Dacca.

President Pak-Indian History Section.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I AM extremely grateful to the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Historical Society for the honour they have done me in electing me the President of The Pak-Indian Section of the Fifth Pakistan Historical Conference, which is being held in the historic city of Khairpur. While conscious of the fact that this honour was conferred in the past on scholars of established reputation I am fully aware of my own limitations and I would request you to have a lenient view of this address which I could not prepare to my satisfaction on account of the multifarious engagements attached to my profession as a teacher.

IT has been a practice in the past on the part of a President to give lengthy discourse on a theme of his choice and dilate upon that practically from the beginning to the end. While choosing to avoid such a course, I would confine my discussions to the problems which a scholar faces in the realm of orthodox research in connection with his studies in the Muslim period of Pak-Indian history.

Our problems in the field of research begin with the Partition. Pakistan did not get from Bharat any share of the archives of undivided India to which it was entitled. Almost all the materials on Pak-Indian history and culture are in Bharat. This applies to most of the archaeological monuments of the Muslim period as well. On the other hand most of archaeological sites of the Pre-historic period or of Hindu and Buddhist history lie in Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Taxila and the North-Western Frontier Province. In East Bengal we have Mahasthan in Bogra district and Paharpur in Rajshahi district, and the excavations now being conducted by the Archaeological Department of Pakistan in Mainamati near Comilla have been yielding, we are informed, valuable relics of Buddhist history and culture. Though I do not deny the existence in our midst of indologists, it will take some years before we can harness our own scholars to work these valuable materials of history. We have an excellent team of scholars for the Muslim period. This situation will call for closer co-operation between researchers living on both sides of the frontier. I would earnestly advocate the case for a Pak-Bharati cultural treaty which would enable scholars of both the countries to visit libraries, museums and monuments, and exchange ideas without the usual Police and Customs formalities.

On an occasion like this we might be interested to know about the progress made in historical research by our scholars since we met last. There is no guide in the form of bulletins or reports; worse still there is no co-ordination or co-operation between Universities and learned bodies so that there is a lot of wastage of time and energry caused by duplication of works. In this connection I may point out to you the commendable work done by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London in collecting information about historical research projects undertaken in the British, Pakistani and Bharati Universities in the recent months, and circulating the same in the form of a pamphlet. Here is a plea that we too publish a pamphlet periodically or annually to indicate the works being done by our scholars in the Universities or learned societies.

COMING to the field of historical research I am aware of the fact that useful works have been done on Pak-Indian history (Muslim period) by historians of both the countries. I may mention only a few of them. Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch and Dr. Daudpota have done valuable researches on the history of Sind during Arab occupation and the period immediately following it, Dr. Muhammad Nazim wrote on the life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah of the Dacca University and Dr. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad made researches on the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi. Dr. Agha Mehdi Husain's "Rise and Fall of Muhammad Tughlaq" is too well-known to be mentioned. Dr. S. Moinul Huq got his doctorate degree for his researches on the Early Tughlaqs and Dr. Riazul Islam of Karachi University wrote a thesis on the life and times of Firoz Tughlaq Dr. I. H. Qureshi's 'Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi' has embodied a critical survey of the pre-Mughal administration. Prof. Muhammad Habib of Aligarh and Dr. Wahid Mirza wrote excellent monographs on Amir Khusraw, whereas the mystics received the attention of a team of scholars including Professor Habib. My humbleself prepared a thesis on the 'History of the Sayyid-Lodi Dynasties' of which the portion on the Sayyids has been coming out in the Journal of Indian History, Trivendram, while the 'History of the Lodis' is awaiting publication in in the Dacca University Press. The second volume on the history of the Sayyids and the Lodis embodying cultural, religious, literary, artistic, social and economic history is being released chapter by chapter for publication in the Journals. The first and second chapters are being printed, I am told, by the Pakistan Historical Quarterly, Karachi and the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca. In Bharat Dr. K. S. Lal published his Ph. D. thesis on the history of the Khaljis; R. S. Tripathis' 'Some aspects of Muslim Administration' and Dr. Tara Chand's "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," are widely known. I still consider that researches in the Pre-Mughal period as a whole are in an infant state, since with the exception of a few above-mentioned works, none incorporated the epigraphical, numismatic and literary sources to the extent these deserved the notice of scholars and yet no history is complete unless these sources are properly harnessed nor can there be a true history

without an account of the social, cultural and economic evolution of the times under discussion.

CONSIDERING the limited resources and opportunities at our disposal, our scholars can profitably engage themselves in schemes of research for which ample materials are available. While writing dynastic histories we most often forget the huge mass of materials we possess for local histories. Thus our scholars of West Pakistan could turn their attention to researches on the rulers of Arghun dynasty which held sway over Tatta and Sihwan, the Hindu dynasties which continued to rule over Sind as feudatories of the Suris and the Mughals.

The scholars from Lahore side could take up the history of the later Ghaznavids who ruled over the Punjab with Lahore as Capital. To my knowledge a research on the history of the rise and fall of the Khokhars, who after the departure of Timur tried to establish their rule over the whole of the Punjab and even dreamt of seizing Delhi, will pay its own reward. To this I may add the history of the Langahs of Multan. Similarly scholars on the Peshawar side may find themselves in an advantageous position to work on the political, social and economic history of the tribal people and on the history of the schismatic sects like the Raushanias and I do not see the reason why the same team should not undertake the history of the Qarmatians of Multan as well. The history of the Hindu Shahi dynasty has not been studied by any Pakistani scholar. In West Pakistan ample materials in the form of monuments and other relics on the Buddhist period exist. The history of the Kalat Amirs or those of Bahawalpur or Khairpur can yet be investigated if there is a co-operation between scholars and state authorities. Scholars of East Pakistan would be better placed to investigate into the various aspects of Muslim rule in Bengal. Though valuable researches have been done by Abid Ali Khan (Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua) and N. K. Bhattasali (Coins and chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal) a systematic work embodying the administrative system, and social, economic, cultural and literary history has yet to be written. A young scholar, Mr. A Karim, a colleague of mine in the University of Dacca, is engaged in preparing a thesis touching the above aspects and I am sure its completion will add to our knowledge of the period. Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah of the

University of Dacca is preparing a monograph on Muslim epigraphy and Mr. A. H. Dani is engaged on the study of Muslim Bengali architecture and art.

THE history of the Provincial dynasties of Pak-India is still lying almost as a virgin field and I see no reason why our scholars should not attempt an investigation into the history of Muslim rulers of Malwa, Jaunpur, Gujrat and the Deccan. I may add that in addition to these there exists a new and interesting field of research. I drew the attention of scholars through a paper appearing in the December, 1948 issue of the Journal of Indian History, Trivendrum, to the existence of muslim minor dynasties in Kalpi, Bayana, Nagaur (Jodhpur) and Mewat. I came to learn that Mr. Akhtar Husain Nizami of the Darbar College, Riwa is researching on the minor dynasties and has been preparing a Ph. D. thesis for the Muslim University, Aligarh, and a Hindu scholar of Riwa is investigating into the history of the Khanzadas of Mewat.

Now let us cast a glance at the Mughal history. I have often heard scholars remarking that the subjects of research on Mughal history pacticaily exhausted. I am one of those who are of the opinion that we have not yet begun the history of Mughal rule. The remark may take most of you by surprise. I am aware of the excellent monographs on Babar by Lane Poole and Rashbrook William; on Humayun by S. K. Benerjee and my class friend Dr. Sukumar Roy of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University; on Sher Shah by Dr. K. R. Qanungo; on Jahangir by Dr. Beni Prasad; on Shah Jahan by Dr. B.P. Saksena; on Aurangzeb by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Mr. Faruqi. On the administrative system the works of Dr. Ibn Hasan, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. P. Saran are well-known. On the Judicial system Mr. M. B. Ahmad's book holds the field. Irvine worked on the army of the Mughals, Mian Abdul Aziz of Lahore and Dr. Khosla wrote on the Mughal nobility and Sir Jadunath Sarkar is still, working on the history of the later Mughals. Recently Dr. A. Rahim, now a lecturer in the Department of History, University of Karachi prepared a Ph. D. thesis on Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir from the University of London. But how many of these works embody the history of the

people, their social and economic conditions, how many have drawn materials from vernacular literature ? Dr. Smith did a good pioneer work on Akbar, but it appears to me that full justice could not be done on all aspects of the reign in a single monograph, leave aside the question that he (Dr. Smith) laid an over-emphasis on foreign sources. To me, it appears that there is ample scope for research in this reign. To cite only a few of the topics. In my view, at least half a dozen of his nobles such as Bairam Khan- Khan Khanan' *Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Munim Khan Khan Khanan, Abul Fazl. Faizi, Raja Todarmal, can provide subjects of independent Ph. D. thesis. Furthermore, the history of the Amber nobles of the Kachwahah clan, the history of the Uzbeg nobles, that of the Mirzas who gave a lot of head-ache to Humayun and Akbar's religious vagaries, history of the individual provinces under his rule, his relation with the Deccan States, Mughal relation with the kingdom of Kabul, the promotion of arts and crafts, literature and fine arts, have yet to be attempted with seriousness. A search into public and private records may reveal new information on the administrative and financial problems.

INSTANCES may be multiplied with regard to the aspects of the subsequent reigns. The House of Mirza Ghias may form the subject matter of useful work. The study of Khanjahan Lodi based on local records has not been made, neither the relation between the Mughals and the Saffavids on the basis of records available in Afghanistan and Iran.

BESIDES these there exists a huge mass of letters composed by renowned munshis. These are as yet studied from the view point of style and diction and no attempt has been made to examine their historiosity, or apply the information gained thereby in giving shape to events. And lastly comes the question of record in the form of 'farmans,' and 'Parwanas'. While I worked as the Secretary of the Regional Survey Committee of the Aligarh Branch affiliated to the Provincial organisation of U. P. I was amazed at finding a vast

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*Recently Cambridge University has awarded a Ph. D. degree on a thesis on Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

mass of such materials in the custody of private individuals and I procured quite a good lot for the Central Archives at Delhi. It is immaterial whether such things come under the jurisdiction of Archives and Records, which is a separate department, the conclusion remains that their importance to historians can never be minimised. Quite a lot of such records lie in the Archives of the Princes and their secrets are jealously guarded. Their number is gradually dwindling down due to the ravages of the time. Ninety-nine out of a hundred of such papers may be of trifling value historically but one may reveal materials challenging our accepted theories. It is high time that we make a sincere effort at their recovery. Let a beginning be made by the Libraries and the learned bodies to supplement the work already undertaken by the Pakistan Archives and Records Commission.

THE age of heroics is now past. At present we do not want the details of chivalrous fights in the battle fields or the adventurous tales of conquerors; we want accounts of civilisation and culture, of learning and literature, of commercial and industrial activities of the people without which the study of the history of a nation is never complete. This is by itself a heavy task, because the chroniclers being in the payroll of the Kings and nobles, forgot to portray this popular aspect altogether. This has to be gathered assiduously and painfully from the literature of the times, from the Malfuzats and the Maktubats of the sufis and mystics and from the writings of the bhagats and reminiscences written by their disciples, from legal treatises, from works of art, from folklores and ballads and from the vast field of musical literature, the last yet unnoticed by scholars of Bharat and Pakistan. The Muslim University, Aligarh was the first to turn its attention to the study of the mystics and sufis and it was in that context that Dr. Md. Salim, now in Karachi University, wrote a thesis on the Sufis of the Chishitia Silsilah and Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami of Muslim University, Aligarh published a few valuable papers in this connection. Vernacular literature has not drawn the attention of our historians and yet this branch of study was encouraged and patronized by the Muslim rulers whether in Delhi and Agra or in the Provincial Kingdoms. In the development of Hindi in particular, there were

muslim contributors who have earned undying fame. To what an extent a gap exists in the recorded sources with regard to the popular aspect of history, can be better judged when I visualize that when the whole of northern India was saturated with the Bhakti movement and when Benaras and Vrindaban had become great centres of the Bhakti cult, not a single contemporary muslim historian could give any clue even to the activity of a Kabir or a Vallabhacharya. Even a scholar like Abul Fazl who could give learned accounts of the mythology of the Hindus, their sciences, their legal system, their music, their 'raj-niti,' writes in the Ain-i-Akbari (p. 129, 171 Vol. II Jarret) only two or three sentences about Kabir saying that he was a great Muwahhid (unitarian) and is not sure whether he was buried at Jagannath or at Ratanpur (Awadh). Even a school child of the present day knows that Kabir was buried at Maghar. The story of Sikandar Lodi persecuting Kabir mentioned in Hindi literature lacks corroboration.

I WOULD advance in this connection a strong plea for the collection of folklores and ballads from the countryside, for they will give an index to the life of the people, their pleasures and pastimes, their hopes and their fears. This may prove a very useful adjunct to the information derived from recorded sources. Much progress has been made in this direction in Bengal and scholars at Dacca are engaged in sifting the materials lying in the form of a collection donated to the Dacca University by the late Munshi Abdul Karim Shahitya Bisharad of Chittagong.

I MAY be pardoned for harping on a new theme *viz.*, musical literature, classical songs particularly, which lie unexplored. It is no doubt a very interesting subject for the history of the evolution of Hindi literature It will act as a barometre of its progress and also bring into life many poets who were not considered worthy of notice by historians of literature. Even on history side the information may be of great value. To cite only one of the many instances, I may here mention a particular song given by Pandit Krishnanand Vyasdeva in his Sangita-Raga-Kalpadruma (P. 58, Song no. 68). The information is about a certain Jabdas or Jivdas who calls himself a wazir, of Emperor Aurangzeb and expresses his impatience at not seeing his patron and feels like a fish out of water, (may be due to Aurang-

zeb's long sojourn in the Deccan), and prays for his prosperity and conquests. This is a valuable information to me particularly, because when I was at Aligarh (as a Lecturer and Reader in the Department of History, M.U.), I came in contact with a certain Kayasth family, one of whose ancestor was Raja Bhagwati Das, a Dewan of Khalsa of Aurangzeb in Bengal. I gathered further that one of the fore-fathers of Professor Shriram Sharma formerly of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, was appointed a Qanungo by Emperor Aurangzeb without being asked to change his religion. (*Cf.* Professor Sharma's Presidential address at the Aligarh Session of Indian History Congress 1943, p. 332). In the first Pakistan History Conference at Karachi 1951, Mr. S. M. Jaffar of Peshawar read an interesting paper on the endowment of land to Hindu temples made by Aurangzeb. I would better quote the translation of Mr. N N. Vasu's verdict on the subject and due weightage must be given to his utterances on account of the vast study he made on literature as a whole. "That the muslim rulers used to listen to the Bhagwat lilas and love songs (of Krishna) along with the Hindus and that they themselves found interest in composing such songs, will be apparent from the mention of the names of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb (Alamgir), and Muhammed Shah in the list of contents. Anybody who reads the songs with Aurangzeb's *nom de plume*, will seriously doubt whether it was the same Aurangzeb, who to many has appeared as a staunch hater of the Hindus. From the hundreds of pads given in the book from muslim authors, we can realize that there was a time when the muslim rulers and the muslim society of commoners never viewed the Hindus with scorn." (Introduction p. 5).

IT is high time that we should turn our attention to calligraphy, numismatics and painting. The works on the subjects require further elaboration and illustration.

WHILE I have said all these things, I must say emphatically that I am not a pessimist. I did it to expose fresh avenues of historical research. We have made a good beginning and considering our resources our achievements are neither mean nor meagre. In addition to the Annual Sessions of the Historical Society of Pakistan which

These books are, indeed, a store house of knowledge and erudition in this respect.

In the seventees of the late century the Punjab Education Department and the Text-book Advisory Committee started publishing text-books of history for the use of school children. Most of these text-books, however, have not been preserved. The Urdu section of the Punjab University Library has, fortunately, in its possession one small Urdu history text-book of this kind captioned "Tarikh-i-Alam". The book was compiled under the orders of Captain Hallride, an officer of the Education Department. The text-book makes a funny reading to-day as it starts with the Biblical myth that the world was created in the year 4004 B.C. It devotes some pages to the history of Ancient Egypt, Iraq and the Levant and provides some details about the history of the Jews and the Romans, ostensibly based on the traditional Judiastic and Christian mythology. Compared with this the current history text-books for the children are, indeed, a great advance and are a testimony to the progressive evolution of the scope of history text-books in the province.

In 1881 A.D., the First Census of population was organised all over British India. The First Punjab Census report does not deal with the history of the province in any appreciable detail. Sir W. W. Hunter's monumental volumes on the Imperial Gazetteer of India, however, deal with the subject in more detail.

In the next decade the Land Settlement all over the province provided another venue of the writing of history of various districts and sub-divisions. The District Gazetteers are a repository of historical information, and deal at length with the extant historical monuments. They also include social and economic and ethrographic chapters and classify customs

and manners, dialects, dress, articles of daily use, arts and crafts and commodities and wares of trade in common exchange in the ninetees of the late century.

Perhaps the most enlightened historical writings of this phase are the books written by Syed Abdul Latif. Latif, an assistant to the Keeper of the Records, rose to the eminent position of a District Judge. His writing in English comprises of the following:

1. History of the Punjab.
2. History of Lahore.
3. History of Multan.
4. History of Agra.

Latif may be considered as the first genuine research worker in history in the province. Besides being well-read in the historical literature of the East and the West, he is fully acquainted with the modern historical method and technique. He has an abundant knowledge of Persian histories in manuscripts, and applies his knowledge in the most commendable manner. He almost seems to have a craze for discovering the truth, and his works are sufficiently authenticated by intensive and extensive documentation.

Apart from his methodological precision Latif exhibits a masterly command of the English language. His style is lucid, and his diction has that flow and easiness which is the hallmark of all historical literature.

Besides giving sumptuous detail about the development of historical phenomena, Latif in his works on Lahore, Multan and Agra betrays the punctiliousness and accuracy of a surveyor. He mentions almost all the extant monuments; and with a precision rare in latter works he measures the length, breadth and height of each of them to the foot. Wherever possible he has incorporated the plans of the buildings, forts, gardens, mosques and places which he so lucidly describes. He

the District Administration collected and compiled historical notes on the extant monuments in the various districts. Such a compilation, covering the monuments of the Lahore Districts, was published in 1853 A.D., and a few others pertaining to other districts, were also published subsequently.

The beginning of the great political convulsion in the Sub-Continent in 1857 A.D. had its repercussions in the Punjab as well. Though the " Punjab School of Administrators " including the Lawrences and Montgomery, were quick to control the spread of subversive activities the outbreak in the Punjab were quite frequent. They were spread all over the Province from the Sutlej to the Indus and beyond. After the situation eased down the district officers submitted the reports of the outbreaks within the areas under their jurisdiction. The Commissioners of the various administrative divisions wrote notes on these reports from their subordinate officers and forwarded them to the Chief Commissioner. The Chief Commissioner, in his turn, summarized those reports and sent them on to the Government of India at Calcutta. In this manner quite a sizeable amount of official literature pertaining to the Mutiny in the Punjab came into existence. Important extracts from these records were published by the Government of the Punjab in four volumes in 1911 A.D.

In 1858 A.D., a British Officer, wrote a book entitled " The Mutiny in the Punjab ". The book is almost entirely based on official reports and, as such, portrays only one side of the picture. Its value as a source book of the Mutiny in this province has suffered since the publication of original Mutiny records by the Punjab Government.

After Punjab re-settled to peaceful conditions, the British thought it advisable to draw a list of notable citizens who were loyal to the Government during the critical year of 1857 A.D. It was with this view that Griffin undertook his

famous compilation of "The Punjab Chiefs," which deals with the history of the most notable families of the province. First published by the Government in 1865, it is based on the geneological tables, historical background and an account of the services rendered by distinguished persons to the British before and after their occupation of the province. The family histories have mostly been incorporated in the original as supplied by the subscribers, because it was expedient to do so. This compilation was revised in 1890 A.D. and later in 1940 by Dr. G. L. Chopra, the then Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government.

The Civil and Military Gazette, an English daily of Lahore, published a series of articles on "Old Lahore" in 1872 A.D. The articles, written by Col. Goulding, were based on the current information about the historical past of the City, and the author seems to have gained much by his association with Munshi Kanihya Lal and Chishti. The Civil and Military Gazette made a tradition of publishing articles on Lahore once every twenty-five years, the latest being the articles written by Miss Porter in 1949 A.D.

Munshi Kanihya Lal, an engineer in the service of the Punjab Government, composed a history of Lahore in Urdu in 1867 A.D. He was followed by another history of Lahore in Urdu written by Chishti under the caption "Tahqiqat-i-Chishtia" published in 1884 A.D. Both the works are written in the traditional historical style. They reproduced the history of Lahore, under the Hindus, the Pathans and the Moghuls, from earlier Persian works. A resume of the British Punjab is, however, based on the data collected by the authors individually.

The characteristic feature of both these histories is the detailed information given in them about the extant historical monuments in Lahore. In all, more than three hundred monuments have been re-counted in each history.

give our scholars a forum for exchanging views, we have started the Pakistan Historical Quarterly which affords an opportunity to our researchers to publicize their investigations. I must congratulate Dr. Moinul Haq for his untiring efforts in keeping its banner aloft. It is a matter of great gratification to learn that the Journal has already acquired a place in the world of historical research. Two years back we in Dacca started the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, an institution which has evoked great enthusiasm among our scholars and the majority of papers read there till now appertain to historical subjects. Arrangements are being made to print the first volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan out of papers read and discussed in its meetings. We have established a central Acrhive and Library and Regional Survey of Records Committees have been formed in all parts of our country. We are preparing a history of the Freedom Movement under the editorship of Dr. S. Moinul Haq in several volumes. Critical studies have been made on the Muslim movement during the 19th Century by our scholars and two of them Dr. A. Bari from Oxford and Dr. A. R. Mallick from London secured D. Phil. and Ph. D. degrees respectively.

AT no time in our national history had a heavier and more responsible duty devolved on historians. We can make or mar our national heritage and even national career. I would insist that our scholars be inspired with noble motives and give a constructive shape to our past history. Research is a difficult and an all-absorbing hobby, and should be undertaken in the spirit of a missionary. "With earnestness and enthusiasm and ceaseless quest for truth, we should combine humility and full sense of responsibility which are concomitants to true scholarship."

BEFORE I sit down, I must thank you Ladies and Gentlemen for the patience with which you listened to my dry discourse.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE PUNJAB

By

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For purposes of tracing the story of historical research British Punjab may be divided into three phases:

1. From 1849 to 1910 A.D.
2. From 1910 to 1930 A.D.
3. From 1930 to 1947 A.D.

First Phase

The first phase starts with the occupation of the Punjab by the British in 1849 A.D. and ends with the organisation of the Punjab Historical Society in 1910.

During this period there was not much of organized historical research. A few Hindu British and Muslim gentlemen of learning, who were interested in the subject, started working on the history of Lahore and the Punjab. The Government also became interested in the history of the area, and did some commendable work.

Immediately after taking over the administration of the Punjab, the Board of Administration, in order to familiarise themselves with the conditions prevalent in the newly-acquired territories, ordered the compilation of historical and cognate data pertaining to the Punjab. In this connexion,

has an eye for the beauty and subtility of Muslim architecture, and never misses an opportunity of lavishing praise on it.

Published in the ninetees, the works of Latif also mention the most important families in Lahore, Agra and Multan prominent at the time. In this he is almost a fore-runner of the modern editors of "Who's Who" in this Sub-Continent.

Syed Abdul Latif is the most important of the Punjab historians of the first period. His works, though rare to day, are still sought after, and most of the latter research on the Punjab, and particularly about Lahore is based on them.

Second Phase

The Second Phase of historical research in the Punjab begins with the year of grace 1909 A.D. when the Punjab Historical Society was founded. Earlier in 1882, the University of the Punjab had come into existence, but as there was no chair in History in the University till 1930, historical research was mostly done outside the University Campus.

The Historical Society was instrumental in bringing a number of students of history together. In fact the foundation of the Society was the beginning of co ordinated, planned and organized historical research.

Most of the research done during this period was published in the Journal of the Society. (A list of research articles published in the Journal during 1910 to 1932 has been separately compiled).

The research was divided into the following periods:

(i) Pertaining to Ancient India and the Ancient Punjab.

(ii) Pertaining to Muslim India.

(iii) British Punjab.

(iv) History of the Punjab States.

(v) Pertaining to the Cataloguing of inscriptions on historical monuments, coins, and buildings.

The most ardent European research workers of this period in the Punjab were Dr. Vogel, Mr. Whitehead, Sir Edward Maclagan, and Mr. Hutchinson, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel began by conducting research on the Lahore Fort, its history, architectural characteristics and the structural materials. Later, he collaborated with Mr. Hutchinson in writing the detailed histories of the Punjab Hill States which were published in the Journal after 1914 A. D. Dr. Vogel also worked on the antiquities available in the States of the Province. Mr. Whitehead, besides contributing articles of research to the Journal, compiled the catalogues of the inscriptions on monuments throughout the Punjab, and a catalogue of the coins in the Lahore Central Museum. The four volumes comprising these inscriptions were published by the Government of the Punjab.

Dr. J. H. Marshall of the Archaeological Survey of India; Dr. A. C. Woolner of the University of the Punjab; and a host of other prominent historians also contributed research articles of high merit to the Journal from time to time.

Professor Ramsay Muir, the renowned British historian came to the Punjab as a visiting Professor of History on the invitation of the University in 1913 A. D. His visit and lectures provided a fresh impetus to historical research in the province. He was quite impressed by the amount and quality of work done here. He contributed an article entitled "India and Historical Research" to the Journal which was published in its Vol. III No. I (1914).

Amongst the Hindu research workers the most prominent names were those of Rai Sahib Pandit Sheo Narain, (Sir) Gokal Chand Narang, Pandit Hira Nath Shastri and Lala Sita Ram Kohli. Sheo Narain's article on "The Koh-i-Noor of 1851" was an eyeopener, and has been much quoted in all subsequent controversy on the subject. Lala Sita Ram Kohli, being veteran research workers from the very beginning

of his career, rose to be a prominent Hindu educationist and historian.

There were quite a number of Muslim research workers during this period. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Hussain, Maulvi Nur Ahmad, Justice Shah Din and Sheikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir were some of the most outstanding contributors. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, (later Director of Archaeology, Government of India) also wrote for the Journal. The Muslim writers were, not unnaturally, interested in the Muslim historic past in the Sub-Continent, and their work usually refers to the Pathan or Moghul kings of India.

The Journal of the Punjab Historical Society was responsible for bringing together the research work of most of the young and experienced workers of all denominations. In fact, it was the corner-stone of what came to be known, later, as the "Punjab School of History".

Another incentive to research was provided in the twentees when the Punjab Government, under the pressure of insistent demands of history students led by H.L.O. Garrett, decided to throw open the gates of its Historical Records Office.

Hitherto, the records of the Government were not ordinarily accessible to the workers and the disadvantages to which they were thus exposed were obvious. After the decision the research activity in the province increased tremendously. Prof. H.L.O. Garrett organised small groups of research workers under expert guidance and the records of the Punjab Government were thoroughly sifted to discover the major lines of possible research.

As the Records Office contained most of the Sikh records, papers and documents relating to the British relations with the Sikh Darbar, the opening led to intensive research on the Sikh period. The Punjab Government allowed the research workers to see its records pertaining to

affairs before 1884 A.D., and subsequently much research was done on the various aspects of the British Punjab from 1849 A.D. to 1884 A.D. (For detailed list please see Appendices).

The University soon took the wise decision of making research thesis a paper for obtaining Master of Arts Degree in History. This was another promoting factor, and there was so much research activity that the Historical Records Office undertook to publish the best monographs written by the students — " a series based upon, research work undertaken in the Record Office by Post-graduate Students ".

With this the "Punjab School of History" came to its own. In 1929 A.D. Prof. A.P. Newton came as a visiting Professor and recommended the establishment of a Chair in History in view of the amount of research already done by the students and the teachers. In 1931 A.D. Prof. J. L. Morrison, Professor of Modern History in the University of Durban came to Lahore in connexion with his research on "Henry Lawrence" and gave his impression about the work done in the Punjab in the following words:

"During my stay at Lahore.........I have been greatly impressed not only with the opportunities for the study of Punjab History but with the actual use of these made by the students of the University of the Punjab. I have found here a most promising school of young Indian Historians".

The second phase of historical research in the Punjab was quite productive. The Punjab Historical Society slackened its activities in the twentees and whereas the research would have suffered the opening of the record office more than compensated it. The incentive thus provided was responsible for accelerating research for the next two decades.

Third Phase

The creation of a Chair in History in the University of the Punjab in 1930 marks the beginning of the third phase of Historical Research in the Punjab.

Prof. J. F. Bruce, who was appointed the first Professor of History in the University of the Punjab, immediately devoted himself to research in the subject. The actual research done under him is faithfully reported in the Punjab University Calendars from 1930 to 1944. (A resume based on these annual reports is appendixed). The main features of the work were as follows:

(A) Research on Sikh History and the British Punjab (1849-1884 A.D.)

(B) Revival of Research on Indo-Muslim Period;

(C) Translation of Persian Manuscripts relating to Punjab History into English ;

(D) The writing of a History of the University of the Punjab.

After assuming office, Professor Bruce devised the courses of study in History at the various levels in the University. In 1932, he got interested in the fortunes of the Punjab Historical Society which was breathing its last due to the exodus of its founder-members. Finally he managed to found a new Society under the name of the " Punjab University Historical Society". The new Society incorporated the older one, and in the words of Prof. Bruce it was a veritable " transmigration of soul " because the new organisation soon imbibed the ethos of the old. The University Society started its Journal and thus provided another venue to research workers.

With the establishment of the History Department full-time research students were engaged by the University. Mr. R. R Sethi, Mr. Mohammad Baqir Malik, and Mr. Vidya

Sagar served in this capacity. Mr. Sethi helped Prof. Bruce in the preparation of the "History of the Punjab University" which was published to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the University. Mr. (now Dr.) Mohammad Baqir served in the capacity of research assistant to Mr. Abdul Aziz who worked on various aspects of Moghul Period in India.

Prof. Bruce devised and introduced the Honours School in History. The School provided intensive instruction in research methods, and the students were required to submit a thesis before they were admitted to a Degree.

The translation of Persian manuscript histories, like Bute Shah's "Tarikh - i - Punjab"; "Tarikh-Mulk-i-Hazara" and "Ummdat-ut-Tawarikh" was also undertaken. The first draft of Bute Shah was completed in 1936 A.D., but since then nothing is known about the project.

The Department also prepared the descriptive catalogues of Persian historical manuscripts in the Punjab University Library.

After 1940 A.D., the Department launched the project of compiling a complete bibliography of the original sources of Sikh History. After four years the project was finalized, and the descriptive bibliography was published in the Journal of the University Historical Society. [1]

In 1943 A.D. Prof. Bruce retired from the service of the University on health grounds. With his departure the research suffered a set-back from which it could not recover. By August 1947, however, the research had come to a standstill. The last issue of the Journal was published in April 1947, and after that the Punjab University Historical Society also ceased to exist for all practical purposes. It is, indeed, gratifying to note that the Society has been revived recently and Historical Research in the Punjab is now again coming to its own.

1 Issue of June, 1944 and April, 1947.

COMBINED OPERATIONS AT HUND BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNA

By

LIEUT.COLONEL K. A. RASHID.

Note :—The letters MG. wherever they occur stand for Mahmud of Ghazna.

Introduction.

While writing about the campaigns of MG, the first thing that one encounters in the books of reference, is the great confusion in the proper sequence of his expeditions, and the varied interpretations given to place names. There is so much divergence in the accounts of the early writers of history and those of today. and between each of them, that it is almost impracticable to get a clear picture of what actually happened in those invasions. The whole thing is a disorderly affair, and no one has attempted to put these accounts in order. I have personally visited all the scenes of his early expeditions, and I can safely say, that none of the historians had any geographical knowledge of the areas involved, nor had they any idea of the topography of the country on which these scenes were enacted.

Just imagine MG coming to the throne in the year 999 A.D.: and till his death in 1030 A. D.; which just about gives him thirty years, he invades India no less than sixteen times! It may not be an impossible feat, but I ask you to consider that out of this short span of thirty years he spends almost eleven

years in Balakh, Raiy, Isphahan etc., to settle domestic affairs, thus being left with nineteen years only to make sixteen expeditions into India: Is this feasible? Especially when we find that over his first expedition to Hund, which after Peshawar is the nearest place to his home in India, he spends eight months in reducing the territory, having entered the place in September 1001 A.D. and returning in April 1002 A.D. and, it must not be lost sight of that he had to cross no big rivers. How can we possibly believe that the manoeuvres carried out in the outlying areas such as Somnath, Kangra and Thanesar, where he had to cross many an obstacle in the shape of rivers, deserts, adverse climates, he marched like a flash completing his round of sixteen invasions. It sounds very dramatic, but I am afraid is not the whole truth from the point of view of military strategy. This question has naturally struck me, as I was looking for a proper sequence in the order of his battles which he fought on the Indian soil. My impression is, that one expedition which involved the subduing of three or four places has been recorded as separate invasions, and not as one. The other confusion which has come to my notice is the wrong identification of places, which has made the confusion worse confounded; in that, the historians have made MG jump from place to place haphazardly without regard to the location of the places: and just because they were unable to do it, they had no other alternative but to multiply his campaigns to fit them into places of their choice, and which lay apart not only at great distances, but also in different directions, which makes the whole show look ridiculous.

There are three distinct operations at Hund, which are attributed to MG. The first of the series is the one, when MG defeated Jaipal, near Peshawar, in November 1001 A.D. and pushed on to Hund, the second is the battle on the Indus against Anandpal, when he refused to allow him passage to Multan; this was in April 1006 A. D. And the third expedition is said to have taken place in December 1008 A.D., when MG crossed the Indus at Hund on his way to Bhimnagar, which

has been identified as Nagarkot and Kangra. To this list I must add a fourth one which took place in October 1004 A.D. prior to the conquest of Bhatiya, when MG again crossed the Indus at Hund, and had to face a ferocious force of Gakhars on the opposite side. He crossed at no other place but Hund to get to Bhatiya, as is evident from the account of Utbi-Hatta ibr Sihun min wara al Multan—clearly shows that he did not cross in the neighbourhood of Multan as is usually maintained but away from it, which here means upstream. I shall come to deal with this question later on in the identification of place names. In my opinion there are not four expeditions, but only two; the first one forming an expedition by itself, while the other three comprise the second expedition. The second expedition includes the subjugation of Bhatiya, and Nagarkot. And instead of placing the three expeditions separately in the years 1004, 1006 and 1008 A.D. respectively. I have preferred to label them as one expedition which took place in the year 1006 A D. After this short introduction, I will proceed to describe as the Battle of Hund, the above enumerated three expeditions and take it as one.

The Battle Of Hund

For a student of military history, it is most annoying to see that the essential details required by him, to compile the story of his operations, is totally lacking, in early contemporary histories. The historians of early days seem more of Pangyrists, praising the valour of their masters, rather than recording the actual manoeuvres and tactics of their masters. This deplorable negligence and serious omission, makes it very difficult to collect and collate various aspects of the strategy of famous generals. And in the case of MG whose campaigns spread over such large areas in so short a time, it is still more difficult to ascertain details regarding the development of his troops. One often wonders how in the absence of modern methods of survey and reconnaissance, and the modern means of locomotion, was MG able to conquer such large areas, repeatedly subduing and returning to his home in Ghazni. Surely, he must have had

superb methods of disposition of his troops, and his appreciations very intelligently anticipated. His principles of War must have been all inclusive, just as today. His departments of information and intelligence must also have been very efficient; the supply and replenishment of troops and material also seem to have been organised extremely well. But unfortunately, no such account has come down to us which can help in the compilation of his tactics and strategy.

In this short paper, I have endeavoured to collect and put together some details from various sources, which will help you to understand to some extent the tactics employed by MG during his operations at Hund against Anandpal, the second monarch of the Hindushahiya dynasty. I will merely confine myself to his attack on Hund with a description as to how he crossed his army over the Indus to get on to the plain of Hazro. But before I do that, I think it is necessary to tell you the organisation of his force under command, and the weapons used by them.

MG's Army

MG's army was the result of a natural evolution of the early Islamic army, which had developed under the influence and contact with foreign forces, with which early Islam had to deal with. Generally speaking there were two main influences; the Greek and the Persian. By the time MG's army had come to hold its own, the Muslims had acquired a distinct art of war. The art of entrenching had come to them very early, as is evident from the famous Ghuzwah Khandaq, in the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (OWBP). The Prophet's (OWBP) body guard had taken the shape of the Royal Body Guard, which was now a permanent feature on the establishment. There were the mercenaries, the tribal people recruited from territories newly conquered; there were the slaves and lastly the regulars, a good force of which was always maintained in various parts of the dominions, who kept ready for any eventuality. All kinds of tradesmen were provided for in the

rank and file of the army. There were carpenters to make boats, and to mend bows, there were the tailors and armourers iron smiths and cobblers. Even the physicians were not omitted, and field hospitals carried on camels worked efficiently. Adequate arrangements existed for the carriage and transportation of provisions and baggage and other essential equipment. This was probably the forerunner of the Quartermaster General's Branch of day. In the time of MG, prior to this expedition, elephants were few and captured, but thoroughbred horses were looked after well. Chariots and carts were used for the harem only, or to carry the sick and wounded.

The equivalent ranks in the army of those days cannot be definitely decided, but from the information gathered from various sources, a gradation in the rank and file is perceptible. Promotions were entirely based on merit. The formations were not arranged in the field as they are today, partly on account of the lack of specialisation in the various arms, and partly due to the deficiency in the variety of the armour. The two main forms were the cavalry and the infantry, the cavalry being mounted both on the horses and the camels, and in the later days on elephants as well. Their battle orders, therefore, were totally different from today. The arrangement in the field of the troops did not considerably differ from that of the days of the Caliphs, the following being the main divisions: (1) the vanguard (2) the right flank (3) the left flank (4) the rear flank or the rear guard and (5) the Central flank. Squadrons like the scouts and the guides also existed, whose function was to reconnoitre the route and the area of operation. They even supplied information regarding the strength of the enemy's troops. The central flank was always commanded by the king who was the Commander-in-Chief. He was surrounded by the body guard, the physicians, the ulema, poets and a few astrologers to forecast the auspicious moment for an attack. A band comprising of drums and trumpets was also not lacking. The rear guard formed what may be likened to the 2nd Echelon of today, or a base, where all the reserves were kept. In

addition to the reserves, the harem and the kitchen also stayed behind in the rear guard. The wounded were also brought and kept here for treatment. The distance between the rear and the central flanks was never very great, as a long line of communication could not be afforded. Conferences amongst officers was not an unknown feature during the operations, and operational orders were issued which were mostly verbal and not written. Road making was planned ahead. Al-Bernni says that the roads MG had to cross prior to his advent into India had been constructed by his father to help him invade India! The main weapons were long bows, crossbows, arrows, shields, spears, swords and naptha ball flung from catapult like devices or thrown from arrows. In the words of Yeats Brown, "They came in troop by troop..................travelling light on their ponies..............with their shields on their back, and their spears under their left knee. They carried long bows for dismounted attack, with a range of 200 yards or more, and crossbows for use in saddles".

With this background of military organisation in the army of MG, I will now follow his footsteps across the plain of Peshawar in his chase of Anandpal; who after having suffered a crushing defeat took refuge for sometime in the fort at Hund, and sent his army partially across the Indus to combat any eventuality in case of a defeat. Mahmud Ghazni had marched to Peshawar with a forces of some 20,000 strong comprising mainly of cavalry. He had only a few elephants which were captured at Peshawar. He employed Hindus as their drivers, and some have even maintained that he had Hindus also fighting on his side, but detailed figures are not available anywhere.

After being pushed from Peshawar, Anandpal did not offer much resistance to the forces of MG; perhaps with the intention of encircling him across the river if MG managed to cross the Indus, for he had the Gakhars to fight for him in the plains of Hazro, or more appropriately, the plain of Chhach, which

extends from Hazro to Attock on the NW side, and from Hazro to Terbela on the Eastern side. But the main battle took place in the near surroundings of Hazro, where a strong force of Gakhars numbering 30,000 had collected to fight on the side of Anandpal, and who almost turned the tables in his favour. To cross the vast stream of water here and then to offer a battle is not an easy task at all, but as will be seen from the forthcoming description MG did it admirably.

The Combined Operations

It was the month of December in the year 1006 A D when MG chased Anandpal to Hund. It is the time of the year when the river Indus is at its lowest ebb, and the river bed becomes riddled with small islands of varying sizes, which serve as convenient stepping stones. It is easier to cross the river at this time of the year and in this place, than at any other time and in any other place. The main body of the cavalry can easily cross on horseback, while the infantry swims across in support of the cavalry, as seems to have happened in this case. Elephants were not needed to be transported across, as they would be captured during the combat; but whatever of them were left behind would cross with heavier equipment after the enemy was defeated. Beside this point, MG also must have crossed at another point on the Indus in the vicinity of this locality. It seems necessary that he must have done so; firstly because, to attack a vertiable force immediately on crossing is not good tactics, and secondly, to engage the enemy on one flank by a surprise attack would divert the attention of the enemy forces which must have been waiting for him to come from the opposite side. I have surveyed this area in its entirety, and am convinced that from Hund MG must have also sent a large part of his force along the Northern bank of the Indus to cross at Darband near Tarbela, where the river enters the plains for the first time; and this place is hardly thirty miles from Hazro, the actual scene of action. I have calculated that for a quick

surprise action, the total journey can be covered in twelve hours from Hund. MG's forces therefore also engaged the enemy on its right flank thus throwing an impact right in the heart of the total force which stood facing Hund at Hazro. We are told that 20,000 people were killed in this battle alone. The area today is riddled with grave yards, which reminds one of the great battle fought here. By this surprise attack on the right flank MG was able to save an ugly situation. The surprise attack was supplemented with a direct attack launched by the crossing forces. No boats were used, and the army crossed on horseback and by swimming. I am not in favour of the view put forward by certain historians that MG crossed over at Attock. Any General would bypass that enormous rapidly flowing stream of water, which is completely exposed; and why should he waste time to cross over the river Kabul again to get to Attock after having arrived at Hund? There seems no sense in this at all. It is also to be borne in mind that this would involve a much greater distance to get to Hazro, and crossing the two rivers would act as a great obstacle, and defeat the element of surprise. It will be remembered that MG had crossed the river Kabul near Jalalabad, and had encamped near Peshawar during the initial advance, MG did not cross the river Kabul near Peshawar, but was encamping opposite Peshawar across the river. Anandpal's forces were advancing from Lahore which was his summer capital, and this lay to the South, in the Swabi Tehsil of the Mardan district of the NWFP. This is the Al Lahawar of Al Beruni, which is the real Lahore of ancient historians. It is not the Lahore of the Punjab, as most of the early and contemporary historians have thought. This mislocation of Al Lahawar has also caused some confusion. Dr. Nazim has pointed this fact in a letter to Dr. Baqir, which he has published as an appendix to his book, Lahore Past and Present. In the expeditions of MG in which we come across this name, we know for certain that MG did not cross the river Chinab, and could not therefore have got to the capital of the Punjab. It was obviously the Lahore of

the Swabi Tehsil, which exists till today. MG therefore had encamped opposite Peshawar across the river Kabul, and fought the advancing forces of Anandpal whom he defeated and persued to Hund, which was the winter capital of the Hindushahiya dynasty, and from here we find ourselves in the midst of the present battle of Hund, which I am describing.

Wooden Carving Of A Scene Of The Combined Operations

In an old house inside the fort at Hund, and near the river gate, there are two beautiful wooden carvings in an excellent state of preservation, which in my opinion date from the time of this expedition of MG. They depict a scene of combined operations of MG at Hund. One of the carvings shows two soldiers advancing on horseback, with spears in their hands. They are met by four soldiers from the opposite side, who are on foot and have swords in their hands, which they are waving in the air. These are in turn followed by two other soldiers on horseback carrying spears. At the bottom of this carving a few soldiers are seen swimming across the river. It must be the river Indus for the carvings have been executed at Hund. In the second carving is a supplecating scene, showing a man holding a large snake in his hand on top of which is placed another smaller snake. There is a horse and a monkey and, the horse is seen shaking hands with the monkey. The monkey and the snake depict Hindu gods, while the man and the horse signify essential elements of war ; and the two appear to be offering some sort of a prayer, most probably beseeching for a victory. This carving definitely shows Hindu sentiments, and can depict no other scene but the one I am dealing with. We know of no other war in this part of the world in history, except for the ones fought by Alexander, and woodwork of this kind could not be preserved for over two thousand years. On the other hand, Sir Aural Stein has discovered carved wooden pillars in this area and in Swat, dating back to the XIV century A.D. which he thinks show Greeko-Buddhist influence. These are well preserved but are later than the time of the present expedition of MG. It is therefore

possible that woodcarving was being done in this area since a long time and these carvings under discussion were also executed by the locals after the battle of Hund. In short this scene depicts the end of the Hindushahiya dynasty. It commemorates the Ghaznivide victory and the Hindu defeat. You will now see these two carvings projected on the screen. It is the scene of MG combined operations at Hund.

I will now come to the discussion of a few place names and show you what confusion has been rought by our early historians. This subject, although outside the scope of my present paper, is nevertheless inextricably bound up with the present campaign I have been discussing. I will, therefore, give you briefly what I have seen, and what I think about these places. I have already in the passing given you my idea about the location of Al Lahawar. I will discuss now two more places, known to us as, Bhatiya and Bhimnagar.

Identification Of Bhatiya And Bhimnagar

It will be recalled, that this invasion of MG took place with the intention of going to Multan, when Anandpal resisted his passage which lead to his downfall. MG also wanted to go to Bhatiya and Bhimnagar, which have been identified with Bhatinda and Nagarkot or Kangra respectively. But in this expedition it is also clear that MG did not go beyond the river Chinab. The places Bhatiya and Nagarkot must therefore lie between the river Chinab and the place of crossing the Indus river, which is Hazro. I have identified this place Bhatiya, with Hatiyan near Hazro, and Nagarkot, with Langarkot which are today situated near Hasan Abdal and Tarbela respectively. I will first discuss Bhatiya.

Early and contemporary historians while discussing this place refer to Utbi's Tarikh-i-Yamini, in which this name appears for the first time, the later historians merely copying his statements. Elliot has rightly commented that, " though holding an important appointment near the person of Mahmud, he does not seem to have accompanied him in his exepeditions,

for he evidently had no knowledge of the topography of India, and his statements in respect of localities are of little authority." After having seen the sites, I could not agree more with the learned scholar. In my copy of the Tarikh-i-yamini, published by the Matbai Muhammadi of Lahore in the year 1882, there is a mark of a footnote on the word Bhatiya, which say in the margin, "Hatiya balad min balad ul Hind". This clearly shows that the correct name is Hatiya and not Bhatiya. For the first time this word appears on page 208 of my copy and subsequent mentions are not annotated. This malapropism has emerged due to careless calligraphy, either on the part of the author in his original manuscript, or by the subsequent copyists who copied from the original manuscript; and ever since then the mistake has been repeated without any effort at correction. What has happened is this: the B (ب) of Ba (با) has been joined onto the H (ح) of Hatiya, thus making it look like Bhatiya! Strangely enough, Ba is a Persian expression; the exact equivalent of which in Arabic is Ilā. But somehow in several other places this anachronism exists. The author or the copyist was in the habit of joining words for the sake of abbreviating the script, which was repeatedly copied without any regard to the real significance of the proper noun. I have noticed this mal-adjustment in several other places in the Tarikh-i-Yamini. To mention another one: The B (ب) of Ba (با) has been joined to the Mim (م) of Mā warā un Nahr, thus making it look like Bama wara un Nahr!

Let us now search for any familiar description in Hatiyan, as described in Tarikh-i-Yamini. I have already explained that in order to get to Hatiyan, MG crossed the Indus at Hund, Hatta ibr Sihun min wara al Multan, signifies that the crossing was made away from Multan, and not in its neighbourhood. And away here means upstream which would be at Hund, for the Sultan was accustomed to cross it here. After crossing Hund MG came to Hazro, and about six miles from the place of crossing lies the modern hamlet of Hatiyan, situated across the grand

trunk road, about a couple of furlongs from where the present road from Hazro joins the grand trunk road. Signs of a drying lake are visible in the vicinity of this place, and the place is still marshy. It was at this place that Babar used to shoot the rhinoceros. Traces of a moat can also be made out. The Hatiyan Dak Bungalow is situated upon a prominent mound which is built over an older structure, and which may have been a fort. There is also an old serai nearby which may have been a stage post of old. The description fits in well, at least better than it fits into Bhatinda. Further the metathesis of the name Hatiya into the word Hatiyan is much more simpler than into the word Bhatinda, which at once looks far-fetched. Now, after the defeat of the Raja of Hatiyan, known as Beeji Rai, he disappeared to take refuge in the fort of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which is identified as Kangra. It will be appreciated that MG has not yet been to Nandana, nor has he been to Lahore of the Punjab ; but the historians have straightaway pushed him to Kangra, which he would only reach after crossing all the rivers of the Punjab. It is not feasible to make such presumptions. Let us look for Nagarkot somewhere near Hatiyan and save MG the trouble of going all the distance to Kangra, which he may have done at a much later stage of his expeditions, but surely not at this stage. If we presume for a while that Hatiya is Hatiyan, then the whole story becomes crystal clear, and no confusion remains whatsoever. There are two forts in the vicinity of Hatiyan, which are today respectively known as Nagarkot and Langarkot, and both have remains of ancient forts which can be seen even today. The old name of Langarkot as mentioned by the District Gazetteer of Attock is Shrikot, and is today called as Baoti Pind. It is situated on the right bank of the Baoti nullah at the West end of a rocky hill which stretches as far as the Haro river. "This is a few miles North of Wah RS. In the gorge between the Baoti ridge and the Hasan Abdal ridge, there is a small ridge forming the three sides of a square which is usually called Langarkot." Remains of the wall of the fort along with some towers can still be seen today along the crest of the ridge. The second

fort which is called the Nagarkot is located at the termination of the Gandgarh mountains towards Tarbela, on the Indus river, the fort being situated on a high hill and away from it. There are the Nagar fountains here which were visited by Heuan Tsang. I am of the opinion that when a part of MG's forces crossed over at Darband for the surprise attack at Hazro, they must have bypassed this on their left, and perhaps did not notice it, as it is hidden away in the hills. They may also have crossed this place at dawn or dusk, and thus missed to see it. But even if they had seen it, they had no time for diversions, as the immediate object was to attack by surprise the forces that were lying concentrated in the plain of Hazro.

Instead of imagining therefore that MG made for Kangra from Bhatinda, as identified for Hatiya and Nagarkot ; if we were to adjust our maps according to my description, we will see that the whole expedition not only took place in the Chchach valley but also was a single expedition and not three different invasions. The confusion will become less confounded. Therefore after defeating the Gakhars, MG passed from the plain of Hazro into the vicinity of Hatiyan and crushed the Raja of this place, and chased him to Nagarkot where he had taken refuge. Both the places are situated at a distance of approximately thirty miles from Hatiyan. The expedition to Kangra can be adjusted at a later date, but not at the time of this excursion.

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هندوستان کی رزم و بزم اور مسلمان

از

پنڈت بشیرالدین

ہندوستان کی قسمت میں تاریخی نقطہ نظر سے رزم کا نمبر پہلے اور بزم کا نمبر بعد کو لکھا گیا ہے - یہاں سب سے پہلے آریہ آئے اور رزم کے ذریعے یہاں کے اصلی باشندوں پر اپنا رنگ جما کر بزم کی طرح ڈالی - بعد کو آنے والے یون' شکه' ستھین' ھن وغیرہ آئے اور آتے رہے اور تاریخ اپنے کو باربار دھراتی رہی یہاں تک که مسلمانوں کا نمبر آگیا اور وہ بھی بدستور سابق رزم کے ذریعه ہندوستان کے مالک بن بیٹھے بعد کو بزم کے نقصانات کی تلافی بزم کے ذریعے کی اور اور خوب کی اور حق یہ ھے کہ اگر ان احسانات کو نہ مانا جائے جو اس ملک پر مسلمانوں کے ھیں تو شاید اس سے بڑی اورکوئی ناشکری کی بات نہیں ھوسکتی -

ازمنۂ وسطیٰ میں سڑکوں کی کمی اور نقل و حمل کی مشکلات کی وجہ سے آلات حرب نہایت سبک ھوتے تھے بچھوا' بادک' گرز تیروکمان وغیرہ اس زمانه کی ھر قوم کے محبوب ھتھیار تھے- جنگ مہا بھارت انہیں ھتھیاروں سے لڑی گئی اور پورس نے انہیں ھتھیاروں سے سکندر اعظم کا مقابلہ کیا - لیکن مسلمانوں کی آمد تک زمانه

کروٹ بدل چکا تھا - وہ جب آئے تو اپنے ساتھ منجنیقیں اور روغن نفط لائے- محمد بن قاسم کی مدد کے لئے حجاج نے بصرہ سے حزیم ابن مغیرہ کی سرکردگی میں جو بحری بیڑہ روانہ کیا تھا اسمیں سامان رسد کے علاوہ قلعہ کشائی کے آلات اور ۵ منجنیقیں بھی تھیں جنمیں سے ایک کا نام ''العروس'' تھا جسکو پانچسو آدمی کھینچتے تھے- اسی منجنیق کو کام میں لاکرجعوبہ نے دیبل کے سب سے بڑے بلند مندر کی چوٹی پر لہراتے ہوئے سبز ریشم کے پھریرے کو سرنگون کردیا ۱ جھنڈے کے سرنگوں ہوتے ہی شہر بھی فتح ہوگیا -

اس نئی ایجاد یعنی منجنیق سے مسلمانوں نے بڑے بڑے میدان سرکئے لیکن تعجب ھے کہ ھندو راجاؤں نے اس کو ایک عرصہ تک نہیں اپنایا - محمد غوری اور پرتھوی راج کی لڑائیوں میں نیز قطب الدین ایبک اور راجہ پرمال کی جنگ آزمائیوں میں ھندو راجہ اپنے قدیم طرز جنگ پر لڑتے ہوئے دکھائی دیتے ھیں حالانکہ پرتھوی راج کے دربان میں امیر تاج الدین ۲ اور راجہ سہوبہ کے دربار میں سید تعلیٰ فوجی سردار موجود تھے ۳ جو یقیناً منجنیق اور اسکے استعمال سے واقف ہونگے-

بہر حال منجنیق کا استعمال برابر جاری رہا اور اس سے بڑے بڑے کام لئے گئے - علاءالدین خلجی نے منجنیق سے سونے کی بارش کر کے مخالف ملوک و امراء کو اپنا طرفدار بنالیا ۴ - اور راجپوتانہ کے مستحکم قلعہ رنتھمبور کوسر کیا ۵ ابن بطوطہ کے بیان کے مطابق محمد تغلق نے جب گوداوری سے قنوج کی طرف کوچ کیا تاکہ عین الملک کی بغاوت کو فرو کرے تو اس کے ساتھ ایک بڑی تعداد میں منجنیقیں بھی تھیں ۶ - سلطان محمد شاہ بہمنی (المتوفی) نے جنگ تلنگانہ ۷۶۳ھ میں منجنیق کو استعمال کیا ۷ اور سلطان احمد شاہ اول نے ۸۲۵ھ کی جنگ مالوہ میں اسی سے دشمنوں کو زیر کیا - فرشتہ احمد شاہ کے حال میں لکھتا ھے ''و از گجرات آلات قلعہ کشائی از منجنیق '' ارابہ وغیرہ طلب نمود '' ۸ -

بہر حال مسلمانوں کیوجہ سے ہندوستان کو جنگ کرنے کے لئے دو نئے ہتھیار مل گئے اور یہاں کے رہنے والے بھی آن کے استعمال سے بخوبی واقف ہو گئے چنانچہ رنتھمبور کے راجپوت محصورین علاءالدین خلجی کے خلاف منجنیق و روغن نفط دونوں کو کام میں لائے ۔ اسیطرح جنوبی دکن میں سنداپور کے رہنے والوں نے سلطان جمال الدین کے مقابلہ میں اپنی مدافعت منجنیق کے ذریعہ کی ۹ دشمن کی مدافعت کو زیروزبر کرنے کیلئے روغن نفط کا استعمال مسلمانوں کو بنو امیہ کے ابتدائی زمانہ ھی میں معلوم ہوچکا تھا ۔ ہندوستان والے آس سے قطعی نا واقف تھے چنانچہ ۷۲۷ء کے قریب جب جنید نے دریائے راوی کے کنارے چینا پیٹھہ ۱۰ کے مستقر کو فتح کیا تو قیدیوں میں دو عرب بھی گرفتار کو کے لائے گئے جنکو راجہ نے پناہ دی تھی یہ لوگ سندھ کے بھاگے ہوئے علاقی باغی تھے انکو جنید نے قومی غداری کے جرم میں قتل کرادیا اس لئے کہ انھوں نے روغن نفط کے ذریعہ کی ہوئی آتشباری کو گل کرنے میں راجہ کو مدد دی تھی اس لئے ٹھیک ۶ سو برس بعد کوکیفیت صبح الاعشیٰ کے مصنف کی زبانی سنئے ۔ وہ محمد تغلق کی لشکری ترتیب کے سلسلہ میں لکھتا ھے ,,سلطان خود (فوج کے) قلب میں ہوتا ھے ......اور اسکے سامنے ھاتھیوں کا جھنڈا ہوتا ھے ۔ ھاتھیوں پر برجوں سے ڈھکے ہوئے آہنی ہودج رکھے جاتے ھیں جن پر تیرانداز سوار رھتے ھیں اور پھر انھیں برجوں کی ھرسمت میں سوراخ بنے رھتے ھیں جن سے تاک تاک کر نشانے لگائے جاتے ھیں اور انھیں ہودجوں میں روغن نفط ہوتا ھے جو شیشہ کی نلکیوں (پچکاریوں) سے دشمنوں پر اچھالا جاتا ھے جس سے شعلہ پیدا ہوتے ھیں ۱۱ محمود تغلق جب تیمور سے جنگ کر رھا تھا تو اسکے ھاتھیوں پر 'رعد انداز' 'آتش باز' اور 'تخش انداز' تھے ۔

سچ تو یہ ھے کہ دنیا میں کوئی قوم اس امر کا دعوی نہیں کرسکتی کہ علم و ھنر کی شمع اسی کے دم سے روشن ہوئی ھے ہر

آنیوالی جماعت نے اپنے پیشرو جماعت کے حاصل کردہ علوم و فنون کو اپنا کر انہیں آگے بڑھایا ہے یہ سلسلہ برابر جاری رہا ہے اور آئندہ بھی جاری رہے گا۔ عربوں نے دنیا کی تمام متمدن اقوام کے علوم کو تحصیل کیا انمیں ہند و یونان کا تحصل اور روم و عجم کا ملکہ سلطنت دونوں ہی چیزیں فطرتاً موجود تھیں۔

یہی وجہ ہے کہ وہ بہت جلد اہل قلم اور اہل صیف ہو گئے۔ انھوں نے برسوں میں وہ ترقی کی جو دوسری اقوام نے صدیوں میں نہیں کر پائی۔ بہت سے علوم و فنون کی ایجاد کا سہرا انکے سر ہے۔ گھڑی، دور بین، اصطر لاب، دمشقی کاغذ، آلۂ باد نما، آلۂ عکاسی (فوٹو گرافی) مقیاس الحرارت، تھر ماس، قطب نما، صابن، آلات کیمیا، و ہیت اور بیشمار سائنس کے آلات انہیں کے مرہون منت ہیں ۱۲ ابن اثیر لکھتا ہے کہ ایک ایسا روغن ایجاد کیا گیا تھا جس کے لگا دینے سے لکڑی آگ سے محفوظ رہتی تھی۔ ۱۳ بارود بھی انہیں کی ایجاد ہے ۱۳۴۰ عیسوی میں الجسر کی حفاظت کیلئے انھوں نے الفانسو یاز دھم کے مقابلہ میں پہلی بار بارود اور توپ کا استعمال کیا۔ میر فتح اللہ شیرازی ان دونوں چیزوں کا موجد ہے۔ ان ایجادات سے اگر اقصیٰ کے مسلمانوں نے فائدہ اٹھایا تو پھر یہ کیسے ممکن تھا کہ مشرقی ممالک کے مسلمان ان سے محروم رہتے۔ انھوں نے ان ایجادات کو اپنی ذات تک محدود نہ رکھکر اپنی محکوم اقوام میں بھی ان کو عام کردیا چنانچہ جنوبی دکن میں محمد شاہ بہمنی (۷۶۳ ہجری) میں جب جنگ تلنگانہ کے بعد واپس ہوا تو تلنگیوں نے اپنی بندوقوں سے اس کے لشکر کو سخت نقصان پہنچا یا خود اس کے بازو پر چوٹ آئی ۱۴ یہ امر ابھی تک تحقیق طلب ہے کہ توپ و تفنگ کا استعمال ہندوستان میں کس سنہ سے شروع ہوا لیکن یہ مانی ہوئی بات ہے کہ شمالی ہند سے پہلے اس کا رواج جنوبی ہندوستان میں ان مسلمانوں کے ذریعہ سے ہوا جو یمن، بصرہ، عراق، مصر، اور ایران کے رہنے والے تھے اور جو بسلسلہ تجارت جنوبی ہند کی ہندو ریاستوں سے

گہرے تعلقات رکھتے تھے ۱۵ - ۷۶۷ ہجری کی جنگ بیجاپور میں محمد شاہ بہمنی نے کوئی سو توپیں راجہ وجیانگر سے چھینی تھیں-۱۶ اسکے بعد اسنے خود اپنے توپخانہ کو ترتیب دینے کیلئے خاص توجہ کی اور ایک مخصوص محکمہ قائم کیا جس کا افسر اعلیٰ مقرب خان ولد صفدر خان سیستانی تھا - زمانہ جیوں جیوں گزرتا گیا میدان جنگ کے لئے توپ وتفنگ کی اہمیت بڑھتی گئی - ہلکی و بھاری ہرقسم کی توپیں تیار ہونے لگیں ۱۷ - بعض اتنی بھاری تھیں جن کے کھینچنے کے لئے ایک ہزار بیلوں کی ضرورت پڑتی تھی اور بعض اتنی ہلکی کہ جنھیں آسانی کے ساتھ اٹھاکر اونٹ پر رکھا جاسکتا تھا - یوں تو ہر سلطان کو اپنے توپ خانہ کو اعلیٰ پیمانے پر ترتیب دینے کا خیال رہتا تھا لیکن اکبر کا دماغ توپ کی اختراع و جدت کے لئے مشہور ہے - اس کے کارخانہ میں چار قسم کی توپیں ڈھالی جاتی تھیں-نمبر ۱-برجی جو بہت وزنی اور لمبی مار کی ہوتی تھیں اور بالعموم قلعہ کے برجوں پر رکھی جاتی تھیں - نمبر ۲ - فیل کش جنھیں ھاتھی کھینچتے تھے یہ قلعہ شکن اور میدانی دونوں قسم کی ہوتی تھیں- نمبر ۳- گاؤ کش جنہیں دوچار جوڑی بیل بآسانی جہاں چاہتے لیجا سکتے تھے - انمیں بعض وزنی بھی ہوتی تھیں - نمبر ۴- مردم کش یہ چھوٹی اور ہلکی توپ ہوتی تھی جسے ایک آدمی سر پر آسانی کیساتھ رکھکر لیجاسکتا تھا -

احمدنگر کے نظام شاھیوں نے بعض توپیں ایسی ایجاد کی تھیں جنمیں پیسے بھرکر غنیم پر چھوڑتے اور موجودہ گن مشین کیطرح غنیم کا صفایا کر دیتی تھیں جیسا کہ "ملک میدان اور کڑک بجلی" نامی توپوں نے جنگ تالیکوٹ ۹۷۲ ہجری میں غنیم کے پانچہزار فوجی چشم زدن میں ختم کردئیے-۱۸-یہ گویا مشین گن کا ابتدائی تخیل تھا اکبری عہد میں اس تخیل نے عملی صورت اختیار کرلی اور توپوں کو ایک ساتھ ملا کر ۱۷ نال کی مشین گن بنالی جسکے سب منھ ایک ھی فتیلہ سے ایک ساتھ کھل جاتے تھےاور بیک وقت سترہ (۱۷) فیر ہوتے تھے بعدکو اسمیں اور ترقی ہوئی اور عالم گیری عہد میں

۳۷ نال والی بندوقیں بن نے لگیں ۱۹ ابتدائی دور میں گولے اور گولیاں پتھر اور لوہے مستعمل تھیں لیکن ۱۰۹۳ ھجری تک سیسہ کا استعمال شروع ھوگیا۔ ۲۰ -

توپ و تفنگ کے ڈھا لنے اور بنانے والے ابتدائی دور میں قریب قریب سب مسلمان نظر آتے ھیں لیکن عالمگیری عہد تک ھندو شاگرد بھی اس فن میں استاد بن گئے۔ چنانچہ محمد بن حسن رومی کی ڈھالی ھوئی توپ "ملک میدان" نے مقابلہ کی ایک دوسری توپ دھول دھان (دولت آبادی) کو منگل سنگھ دکنی نے بنا کر اپنی فنی مہارت کا ثبوت دیا مسلمان اساتذہ میں اگر محمد بن حمزہ، مصطفٰے خاں بابری، مصطفے خاں رومی (بہادر شاھی) محمد بن حسین رومی محمد بن حسن رومی، ملک صندل، محمد حسین وغیرہ قابل ذکر ھیں تو ھندی شاگردوں میں سلطان محمد دھلوی، منگل سنگھ دکنی، متھرا داس، شاہ بینظیر، سدھا سنگھ لاھوری، محمد حیات، لائے سنگھ، فضل علی اور باقی خاں وغیرہ بھی اساتذہ کی صف میں شمار کئے جانے کے قابل ھیں (۲۱)

توپ و تفنگ او دیگر آتشیں اسلحہ جات کی فراوانی کے باوجود تیر اندازی اور تیغ زنی کی اھمیت آخری دور تک باقی رھی - یہ دونوں فن قدیم الایام سے عربی و ھندی دونوں اقوام میں پائے جاتے ھیں لیکن تیغ ھندی کو اپنی کیف و کمیت کے اعتبار سے عربی تیغ پر فوقیت حاصل ھے (۲۲) پھر بھی تعجب ھے کہ اسلامی دور سے پہلے کسی ھندو تیغ زن کا نام تاریخ میں نہیں ملتا۔ البتہ تیر اندازی کے لئے رام چندرجی کے والد راجہ دشرتھ اور پانڈوں میں ارجن کا نام شہرہ آفاق ھے (۲۳) راجہ دشرتھ شبد بھیدی تھے اور ارجن سویہ ساچی مشہور تھے یعنی بائیں ھاتھ سے بھی اسی طرح نشانہ پر تیر لگاتے تھے جسطرح کے دائیں ھاتھ سے -

مسلمانوں میں اوزبک اور تورانی تیر اندازی میں بڑے مشاق اور ماھر سمجھے جاتے تھے - تورانیوں کے بارے میں مشہور ھے کہ

وہ اپنے ہر تیر سے گھوڑے کی پیٹھ اسکے سوار سے خالی کرادیتے تھے ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں نے اس فن کو کافی ترقی دی اور بڑی مہارت حاصل کی - بعض ماہرین دشمن کے آتے ہوئے تیر کو اپنے تیر کا نشانہ بناکر راستہ ھی میں ختم کر دیتے تھے - چنانچہ ۱۱۲۴ھ میں فرخ سیر کی تخت نشینی کے لئے جہاندار شاہ کے خلاف آگرہ کے قریب جو جنگ ہوئی اسمیں سادات بارھہ سید حسین علی خاں اور سید عبداللہ خاں فرخ سیر کے طرفدار تھے - دوران جنگ میں عبدالغفار خاں نے جو جہاندار شاہ کا ایک امیر تھا چلۂ کمان سے ایک تیر نکال کر عبداللہ خاں کو نشانہ بنایا لیکن سید صاحب نے نہایت سرعت سے اپنی کمان سے ایک ایسا تیر چلایا کہ عبدالغفار کا تیر اُس سے ٹکرا کر بیچ ھی میں ٹکڑے ٹکڑے ہو گیا اسکے بعد ھی دوسرا تیر چلا کر عبدالغفار خاں کو زخمی کردیا ۲۴ - تیروں کا حملہ روکنے میں افغانی امتیازی حیثیت رکھتے تھے - شہزادۂ عظیم الشان اور جہاندار شاہ کے درمیان تخت نشینی کیلئے جو جنگ ہوئی ہے اور اس میں عظیم الشان کے افغانی لشکریوں کے ارد گرد تیروں کی جو بارش ہوئی تو مورخوں کا بیان ہے کہ افغانی اس کو پھولوں کی بارش سمجھتے تھے ۲۵ -

تیموری شہزادوں کو تیر اندازی کی اعلی تعلیم دیجاتی تھی - جہانگیر اتنا مشاق تھا کہ ایک تیر سے بھیڑئے کو ھلاک کردیتا تھا جبکہ بھیڑیا بیس تیس کھا کر بھی نہیں مرتا ۲۶ - سموگڈہ کی مشہور لڑائی میں راجہ رام سنگھ اور اسکے راجپوت سپاھیوں نے مراد کے ہودج کو تیروں سے چھلنی بنادیا تھا - فیل بان مارا جاچکا تھا پھر بھی شہزادہ ہمت و استقلال کا پہاڑ بنا ھوا غنیم کے تیروں کا جواب برابر دے رھا تھا یہاں تک کہ راجہ رام سنگھ نے قریب جاکر مراد پر برچھے سے وار کیا - بہادر شاہ نے وار بچ کر رام سنگھ کو اپنے تیر کا نشانہ بنالیا - راجپوتوں نے اپنے سردار کو مرتے دیکھکر دیوانہ وار مراد کے ھاتھی کو گھیر لیا - اس موقع پر مراد کے تیروں سے اتنے راجپوت زخمی ہوئے کہ ھاتھی کے ارد گرد زمین ارغوانی و زعفرانی ہو گئی ۲۷ -

تیراندازی کی طرح تیغ زنی کی روایات بھی مسلمانوں سے وابستہ ہیں - انھوں نے اس کی اہمیت کو ہمیشہ پیش نظر رکھا - آداب الحرب والشجاعت کے مصنف مبارکشاہ المعروف فخر مدبر نے شمشیرزنی کی اہمیت کے ثبوت میں حضرت عمر و حضرت خالد رضی اللہ تعالی عنہا کا ایک مکالمہ درج کیا ہے - حضرت عمر رضی اللہ تعالی عنہ نے حضرت خالد رض سے تیرونیزہ اور سیف کے متعلق استفسار فرمایا - حضرت خالد رض نے جواب دیا کہ تیر اچھا ہتھیار ہے لیکن اس میں خطا کے امکانات زائد ہیں - نیزہ بھی جبکہ دشمن کے جسم میں چار انگل گھس جائے نیزہ باز کو غیر محفوظ بنادیتا ہے ہاں سیف ہی وہ ہتھیار ہے جو ماؤں کو اپنے لڑکوں کے لئے رلا دیتا ہے - ابتدائی دور میں جبکہ آتشین اسلحہ جات کی فراوانی نہ تھی اور نہ اسوقت ہتھیاروں کی جنگ لڑی جاتی تھی بلکہ پامردی و شجاعت اور مردانگی کی جنگ ہوتی تھی ایک جانباز کا جوہر مردانگی اسکی شمشیر ہی سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے - ایک سپاہی تلوار کی ضرب جس قدر زیادہ تیزی پھرتی اور سختی سے لگاتا تھا اسیقدر وہ بہادر اور آزمودہ کار سمجھا جاتا تھا - اکبر اپنی تلوار کی ایک ہی ضرب میں شیر کو مارڈالتا تھا ۲۸ - شیر شاہ سوری ۲۹ - اور شیر افگن کی شیر افگنی تاریخ کے صفحات پر ثبت ہے - اورنگ زیب کا شہزادگی کے زمانہ میں ایک مست ہاتھی سے بھڑ جانا اور اس کو اپنی تلوار سے زخمی کر کے پیچھے ہٹا دینا شجاعت و بہادری کی اعلی مثال ہے - جاجو کی جنگ میں اعظم شاہ کا توپ و تفنگ کو بازیچۂ اطفال سمجھکر جنگ کا فیصلہ تلوار سے چاہنا مردانگی کی دلیل ہے - سادات بارھہ لڑائی کی سرزمین میں قدم جما کر تلوار سے لڑنے میں بہت مشہور تھے - ۱۱۲۳ھ میں سید حسین علی خاں نے فرخ سیر کی جانشینی کی جنگ میں ہاتھی سے اترکر اپنی شمشیر آبدار کے جوہر دکھائے ۳۰ - اسیطرح سید عبداللہ خاں نے حسن پور کی جنگ میں اسی جوہر شجاعت کا اعلی نمونہ پیش کیا ۳۱ -

تلوار، بانا، جل بانک، کٹارا، برچھا، گرز، ناچخ، جمدھر، وغیرہ کے استعمال میں بڑی چلت پھرت کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے اس کے لئے ہندو۔عرب میں دو الگ الگ طریقہ رائج تھے۔ ہندی طریقہ کا نام رستم خانی ہے اور عربی طریقہ کا نام علی مد۔ رستم خانی طریقہ کا مشاہدہ محرم کے اکھاڑوں میں کیا جاسکتا ہے جسمیں پینترا قدم اٹھاکر بدلا جاتا ہے اور آگے پیچھے دائیں بائیں اچھل کود کی جاسکتی ہے۔ علی مد میں بائیں پیر کو قائم رکھ کر دائیں سے پینترا بدلا جاتا ہے۔ ہندوستان مین آکر مسلمانوں نے رستم خانی اور علی مد دونوں طریقہ کو خلط ملط کر کے ایک نئے فن کی تشکیل کی جو فن بنوٹ کے نام سے موسوم ہے۔ اسمیں نہ تو محرم کے اکھاڑے والوں کی طرح اچھل کود ہے اور نہ علی مد والوں کی طرح دائیں بائیں پیر کو قائم کرنے کی شرط بلکہ زمین سے پیر کو رگڑتے ہوئے جدھر بھی رخ پلٹنا ہو پلٹ سکتے ہیں۔ اساتذہ فن نے اس میں پاتراب ۳۲ — کی گردش کو بڑی اہمیت دی ہے۔ گردش کے لحاظ سے فن کی تقسیم پاؤں میں کی چنانچہ سمت درست رکھنے کے لئے ڈیڑہ قدم، رواں قدم، پیش قدم اور زیر و بالا کو ترتیب دیا۔ فاصلہ کے قریب و بعد کو ملحوظ رکھتے ہوئے سرک کو کام میں لائے، شیر تڑپ، کبوتری، مور، پاؤں سے ہنگامی حالات میں کام لیا۔ حقیقت تو یہ ہے کہ اس فن کے پہلے ہی پاؤلہ کی مشق غضب ڈھانے کے لئے کافی ہے بقیہ کا تو کہنا ہی کیا۔ پہلے پاؤلے میں غنیم کو زیر کرنے کے لئے ۳۰ ضروب کی تعلیم دیجاتی ہے۔ بندش چھین واڑان اطراف کی اڑان مار میں بچت و بندش وغیرہ کی تعلیم اس کے علاوہ ہے۔ یہ خالص اسلامی فن ہے اس ایٹمی دور میں بھی اس کو زندہ رکھنے کی ضرورت ہے۔

فوجی ورزش کے لئے کشتی شہسواری کو بھی لازمی سمجھا گیا ہے۔ فریقین کا نہتے ہاتھ ایک دوسرے کے بھڑنے کا نام کشتی ہے۔ اسمیں مخالف کو داؤ پیچ کے ذریعہ زیر کرنے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے۔ عرب و ہند دونوں جگہ اپنے طریقہ پر اسکی مشق کی جاتی ہے۔ عربی و ہندی پیچوں میں نمایاں فرق ہے۔ عربی پیچ کے بندش کی کوئی کاٹ نہیں لیکن ہندی پیچ کوئی ایسا

نہیں جس کا جواب اور کاٹ موجود نہ ہو - مسلمانوں نے اسمیں بھی تصرف کر کے فن بنوٹ کا جز بنا دیا - برھمن کشتی (مل بدھ) کے خاص طور سے استاد ہوتے تھے - مسلمانوں نے اس کو عام کردیا اور اپنی شہ زوری اور زور آزمائی کے عجیب و غریب نمونے پیش کئے - سلطان قطب الدین ایبک حکم سے بختیار خلجی کا ھاتھی سے بھڑ جانا ۳۳- یا اکبر کا مست ھاتھیوں سے کھیلنا ۳۴- یا نواب محمد خاں بنگش فرخ آبادی کا سر کا زور لگا کر راجہ چھتر سال بندیلہ کے محل کے شہتیر کا اکھیڑنا ۳۵ شہ زوری کی اعلی مثالیں ھیں -

۱۱۲۴ھ میں جب فرخ سیر جہاندار شاہ کے خلاف تخت کا دعویدار ہوا تو وہ اکبر نگر (راج محل) سے چلکر عظیم آباد پٹنہ پھونچا - یہاں ملک میدان بہاری نام کی ایک توپ کو اپنے همراہ لینا چاھا - اس توپ کا گولا ایک من کا ھوتا تھا اور ایکسو پچاس اور دو ھاتھی مل کر اس کو کھینچتے تھے - اسوقت یہ توپ کیچڑ میں کچھ اس طرح سے پھنسی ہوئی تھی کہ توپ خانہ کے فرنگی ملازم اپنی تدبیرونسے نکالنے اور ھاتھی و بیل زور لگا کر کھینچنے میں ناکام رہے - اسوقت مرزا اجمیری نے جو بعد کو سہ ھزاری منصب اور افراسیاب کے حطاب سے سرفراز ھوا- آداب بجالا کر فرخ سیر سے زور آزمائی کی اجازت چاھی اور گاڑی کے پہیوں میں ھاتھ ڈال کر سینہ تک اس توپ کو اٹھالیا اور عرض کی جہاں ارشاد ھو رکھ دوں - فرخ سیر نے بلند زمین کی طرف اشارہ کیا چنانچہ میرزا نے نیچی زمین سے لیجا کر بلند زمین پر رکھ دیا - یہ قوت دیکھ کر تماشائی پہلے تو دم بخود رہ گئے پھر تحسین و آفرین کی صدا اس قدر زور سے بلند کی کہ تمام میدان گونج اٹھا فرخ سیر نے بھی بہت تعریف کی اور منصب و خطاب سے سرفراز فرمایا - ۳۶-

ایک تنومند سوار کے واسطے شہسواری کے لئے عمدہ اچھے نسل کے گھوڑے کی ضرورت ھے اسے حسن اتفاق کہئے یا حقیقت سمجھئے کہ مسلمانوں کی آمد سے پیشتر ھندوستان عمدہ نسل کے گھوڑوں سے محروم تھا ۳۷- غالبا یہی وجہ ھے کہ مہا بھارت کے زمانہ سے لیکر مہا راجہ ھرش کے عہد حکومت تک فوج کی تقسیم پیدلوں، رتھ سواروں، اور ھاتھیوں پر مشتمل تھی - گھوڑا سوار اگر تھے بھی تو نہ ھونے کے برابر - مہا راجہ چندر گپت موریہ کے ۶ لاکھ پیدلوں کے مقابلہ میں ۳۰ ھزار سواروں کی کیا حقیقت ھے اس کے برخلاف مسلمان پیدائشی سوار تھے خواہ وہ عرب کے ھوں یا منگول و تاتار کے ھوں افغانی ھوں یا ترکی و خلجی ھوں - سب کے سب بہترین سوار تھے - انکو اپنے گھوڑولسے محبت نہ ھو غیر ممکن - آخری دور کا وہ نادر شاھی مشہور واقعہ جسمیں

گھوڑے کی سواری کو ہاتھی کی سواری پر ترجیح دی گئی یا وہی ہوگا ۳۸ اور پھر عربوں کا اپنے گھوڑوں سے عشق کوئی چھپی بات نہیں اس لئے مسلمان اپنے ساتھ نہ صرف عمدہ نسل کے گھوڑے لائے بلکہ انکی افزائش کے لئے بھی مناسب انتظام کیا بلبن علاءالدین خلجی سکندر لودھی وغیرہ نے ادھر خاص توجہ دی - بہر حال شہسواری بھی خالص اسلامی فن ہے جس کے روایات کو انھوں نے آخری دور تک قائم رکھا - کرنال کی جنگ میں نادرشاہ کے کچھ سوار اپنے گھوڑے کی پیٹھ پر الٹے منھ بیٹھ کر تیر و بندوق چلاتے تھے اور گھوڑوں کو پیچھے کی طرف بھگا لے جاتے تھے - ابن بطوطہ نے اپنے سفر نامہ میں ملتان کے فوجیوں کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے ''اگر کوئی لشکری اپنی سواری کا کمال دکھانا چاہتا تھا تو دیوار میں لگی ایک چھوٹی انگشتری کو اپنا گھوڑا دوڑا کر نیزے کی انی میں پرو کر لیجاتا تھا اور میدان میں پڑی ہوئی گیند پر سرپٹ گھوڑا دوڑا کر چوگان لگا تا تھا - جسقدر کمال کوئی ان کھیلوں میں دکھاتاتھا اسیقدر اسکے عہدہ میں ترقی ہوتی تھی ۳۹ -

گھوڑے کو زیادہ سے زیادہ تیزی سے دوڑانا ۴۰ - پانی میں ڈالکر کھائی یا دریا کا پار کرنا ۴۱ سوار ہوکر دیواریں پھاندنا - کھونٹے اکھاڑنا لمبے نیزے سے ہاتھی پر بیٹھے دشمن کو زخمی یا ہلاک کرنا شہسواری کے خاص تھے ۴۲ - سلاطین و امراء کا پسندیدہ کھیل چوگان تھا جو وہ عجم سے کھیلتے ہوئے ہندوستان آئے - سلطان قطب الدین ایبک نے چوگان کھیلتے ہوئے جان دی ۴۳ - امیر خسرو کی مثنوی سہ پہر میں چوگان و گیند کا منظوم مکالمہ ہے جو علاء الدین خلجی کی چوگان بازی پردال ہے - ملک کافور اورسکندرلودھی ۴۴- چوگان کے بڑے مشاق کھلاڑی تھے - شاہان مغلیہ کے دور میں یہ کھیل رات کو بھی کھیلا جاتاتھا - اسمیں پلاس کی لکڑی کی بنائی ہوئی گیند استعمال کیجاتی تھی - یہ آگ جلد پکڑتی اور دیر تک روشن رہتی تھی ۴۵ -

حواشی

نمبر ۱ - مسلمان عرصه تک دیبل کا محاصرہ کئے پڑے رہے لیکن شہر پر قبضه نہیں ہوسکا - سودیؤ نامی ایک برہمن قلعه سے باہر آیا اور اسکے ذریعه محمد بن قاسم کو معلوم ہوا که جب تک شہر کے سب سے بڑے بتخانه پر نصب شده سبز جھنڈے کو نہیں گرایا جائےگا اسوقت تک شہر ناقابل تسخیر رہے گا اسلئے که لوگوں کو اس سے بڑی عقیدت ہے - محمد بن قاسم نے جعوبه کو بلا کر جھنڈے پر سنگباری کرنے کا حکم دیا - جعوبه نے کہا که یه اب مشکل نہیں بشرطیکه شاہی منجیق ,, العروس ،، کو کاٹ کر ۲ گز چھوٹا کردیا جائے - اسکے بعد تین پتھر مارکر جھنڈے کو نه گرادوں تو میرے ہاتھ قلم کرلئے جائیں - محمد بن قاسم نے جعوبه کی شرائط سے حجاج کو مطلع کیا وہاں سے نویں دن جواب آگیا - اسمیں لکھا تھا که منجیق عروس کو مشرق کی طرف نصب کر کے اور موجوده حالت سے ایک پایه کم کر کے نشانه انداز کو حکم دو که وه دیول کے گنبد پر سنگباری کرے چنانچه ایسا ہی کیا گیا اور جعوبه نے صرف دو پتھر مار کر مندر کے گنبد اورجھنڈے کو توڑ پھوڑ ڈالا -چچنامه ص۱۰۴،ص۱۰۸، یعقوبی جلد اول ۳۴۲ لیڈن -

نمبر ۲ — ملاحظه ہو ہندی ساہیته کا اتہاس ص ۱۳۶ از پنڈت رام چندر شکل ، بیلدیؤراسو ص ۲۶ -

نمبر ۳ — تاریخ ہندی قرون وسطی جلد دوم ص ۱۴۰ از قاری پنڈت محمد بشیر الدین ایم - اے-

نمبر ۴ — ضیائے برنی ۲۴۴ -

نمبر ٥ - ضیائے برنی ص ۲۸۳ تاریخ میں یہ پہلا موقع ہے کہ ہندی بھی منجنیق اور روغن نفط کے استعمال سے واقف ہو گئے محصورین کے بارے میں مورخ موصوف لکھتا ہے 'وجہ مغربی پاشیب را خراب می کردندو از بالا حصار آتش می ریختند، یعنی سنگ مغربی سے وہ شاہی دمدموں کو خراب کرتے اور قلعہ کے اوپر سے آگ برساتے تھے۔

نمبر ٦ — سفر نامہ ابن بطوطہ ص ۱۸۰ اردو ترجمہ -

نمبر ۷ — فرشتہ ص ۲۸٦ لکھنؤ -

نمبر ۸ — فرشتہ ص۱۸٦ جلد دوم -

نمبر ۹ — ابن بطوطہ ص ٥٠ سندرا پور کی تسخیر کے متعلق لکھا ہے ''سلطان جمال الدین کے پاس ٥٢ جنگی جہاز تھے——————جب ہم سندا پور کی کھاڑی میں داخل ہوئے تو معلوم ہوا کہ سندا پور کے باشندے لڑائی کے لئے تیار ہیں اور منجینق لگائل ہوئے ہیں——— انھوں نے منجینق سے پتھر پھینکنے شروع کردئے -

نمبر ۱۰ — ممکن ہے کہ یہ مقام وہ ہو جسکو آج چمپہ کہتے ہین جو اسی نام کی ریاست کا پایۂ تخت ہے۔ یہ ریاست دریائے راوی کے منبع کے پاس ہے۔ اس زمانہ میں چین و تبت کے تجار یہاں بکثرت رہتے تھے جسکی وجہ سے یہ جینوں کا شہر معلوم ہوتا تھا۔ اسلئے یہاں کے راجہ کو عرب ,,شاہ جین،، کہتے تھے - اس شہر میں سوانگ سہانگ نے بھی چودہ مہینہ قیام کیا ہے۔

نمبر ۱۱ — صبح العشیٰ بحوالہ معارف جلد ۲٦ نمبر ۹ جلد ۳٥ نمبر ۳ ص ۱۷۰ -

نمبر ۱۲ —تفصیلات کیلئے ملاحظہ ہو تمدن عرب ص ۳۸۳ از موسو لیبان ' اخبار الاندلس ۷۹۳ از مسٹر اسکاٹ اور مسٹر جوزف جیکوب کے صفحات ۵۱۳ تا ۵۱۵ -

نمبر ۱۳ — کامل ابن اثیر ص ۱۵۱ جلد ہفتم- نمبر ۱۵- فرشتہ ۲۸۷ لکھنؤ- نمبر ۱۵- ملاحظہ ہو تحفہ سلاطین معارف نمبر ۶ جلد ۶۴ ص ۴۱۳ - نمبر ۵ فرشتہ ص ۲۸۷ لکھنؤ- نمبر ۱۷- توپوں کیلئے ذیل کا تشریحی نوٹ ملاحظہ ہو-

نمبر شمار	توپ کا نام	کہاں تھی یا ہے	پیمائش و وزن	کس نے بنائی	کیفیت
۱	ایلپای (مصری)	گجرات (جوناگڈھ)	۱۳ فیٹ ۷ بالشت لمبی ۷ ۲ فٹ دہانہ	محمد بن حمزہ	۹۳۷ھ میں رومی خاں مصری اس کو اپنے ساتھ لایا- مصر میں ڈھالی گئی اس کو بہت سے بیل اور تین سو کہار اٹھاتے تھے چتوڑ کی فتح میں کام لیا گیا -
۲	مجنوں	چنپانیر	—	غالباً رومی خاں نے	یہ بہادر شاہ گجراتی کے لئے تیار کی گئی لیکن ہمایوں کو چنپانیر میں یہ ہاتھ لگ گئی اسی لڑائی میں ٹوٹ گئی -
۳	شیر بچہ	قلعہ اورگیر	۷ فیٹ لمبی دہانہ ۹ انچ	——	نظام شاہی توپ ہے-
۴	بچ رسی	"	۱۱ فیٹ لمبی دہانہ ۹ انچ	——	شکل مگر کی طرح ہے یہ بھی نظام شاہی ہے -
۵	نظام شاہی	قلعہ اوسا	۸ فیٹ طویل دہانہ ۱۱ انچ	مدبن حسن رومی	——
۶	فتح لشکر	قلعہ بیدر	طویل $1\frac{1}{6}$ فیٹ دہانہ $1\frac{1}{6}$ فیٹ	——	برید شاہی توپ شاہ محمود برید کے لئے ڈھالی گئی ۹۸۸ھ میں اس توپ میں ایک من دس سیر بارود اور $5\frac{1}{2}$ من کا گولہ دیا جاتا تھا -

نمبر شمار	توپ کا نام	کہاں تھی یا ہے	پیمائش و وزن	کس نے بنائی	کیفیت
۷	ھفت گزی	قلعہ بیر	۳۱ فیٹ طویل اور ۲۳ فیٹ مدور	——	علی برید شاہ کے لئے ۹۷۷ھ میں ڈھالی گئی پچ رسی دھات کی نہایت مجلیٰ ہے دس من کا گولہ دیا جاتا تھا ۔
۸	لانڈے قصاب	قلعہ پرنیڈہ	طول $18\frac{1}{2}$ فیٹ دہانہ ۶ فیٹ ۱۱ انچ	——	یہ لوہے کی پتر جوڑ کر بنائی گئی ہے ۔
۹	کالا پہاڑ	دولت آباد	طول ۸ فیٹ $9\frac{1}{2}$ انچ دہانہ سو فیٹ $9\frac{1}{3}$ انچ	——	یہ بھی غالباً نظام شاہی توپ ہے ۔
۱۰	چار گزی	گلبرگہ	——	——	گلبرگہ میں ۲۶ توپیں ہیں جنمیں سے یہ بھی ایک ہے ۔ یہ چار من عادل شاہی گولہ چھوڑتی ہے ۔
۱۱	بارہ گزی	,,	طول ۱۸ ہاتھہ ہے	ملک صندل	ابراھیم عادل شاہ کے لئے ۱۰۳۴ھ میں تیار کی گئی ۔
۱۲	ملک میدان	بیجا پور	طول ۱۴ فیٹ ۴ انچ ۔ دہانہ ڈھائی انچ وزن چار سو من ہے	محمد حسن بن رومی	یہ توپ احمد نگر میں نظام شاہ کے لئے ۹۵۶ھ (۱۵۴۶ء) میں ڈھالی گئی اور قلعہ پرنیڈہ پر چڑھائی گئی ۱۶۳۲ء میں یہ محمد عادلشاہ بیجا پوری کے قبضہ میں آئی اور بیجاپور لیجائی گئی ۔ جنگ تالیکوٹ ۹۷۲ھ میں اس سے کام لیا گیا اس کے گولے کا وزن ۲۳ من ۲۳ سیر تھا ۔
۱۳	لم چھڑی	,,	طول ۳۰ فیٹ ۱۸ انچ دہانہ ایک فیٹ	——	بیجاپور کے حیدر برج پر لم چھڑی کے سائز کی دو توپیں ہیں اور یہ دونوں لمبی مار کی توپیں ہیں ۔

نمبر شمار	توپ کا نام	کہاں تھی یا ہے	پیمائش و وزن	کس نے بنائی	کیفیت
۱۴	لانڈے قصاب	بیجا پور	طول ۲۱ فٹ ۱۷ انچ دھانہ ۵ دور ۴ فٹ ۵ انچ اور خود دھانہ ۱ فٹ $\frac{1}{2}$۷ انچ وزن ۱۲۶۹ من یعنی ۴۷ ٹن لمبائی $\frac{1}{2}$۲۳ فٹ قطر $\frac{3}{4}$۳ فیٹ	ــــ	یہ بیجاپور کے نعمت برج پر ہے لم چھڑی جیسی ساخت ہے اور سب سے بڑی دکنی توپ ہے۔
۱۵	راج گوپال	تنجور	لمبائی $\frac{1}{2}$۲۳ فیٹ قطر $\frac{3}{4}$۳ فیٹ	ــــ	یہ تنجور کے قدیم قلعہ میں ہے۔ اسکے ڈھلنے کی تاریخ نامعلوم یہ توپ ملک میدان اور لانڈے قصاب کے جوڑ کی ہے۔

نوٹ:—قلعہ گل کی بہت سی توپیں انگریز لیگئے کچھ حیدر آباد چلی گئیں پھر بھی سات توپیں ابھی وہاں موجود ہیں۔ قلعہ نلدرنگ میں ۱۲ بڑی اور ۳۲ چھوٹی توپیں باقی رہ گئی ہیں۔ باھری توپیں دکنی توپوں کے مقابلہ کی نہیں ہیں پھر بھی مصطفے خاں رومی اور علی قلی خاں کی مدد سے اس نے اپنا توپ خانہ اچھا بنالیاتھا۔ ھمایوں کے پاس جنگ قنوج میں ۷۰۰ توپیں تھیں اکبر نے توپخانہ کو بہت ترقی دی اور ہر قسم کی توپیں ڈھلوائیں اسکے جانشینوں نے بھی ادھر کافی توجہ دی حال ملاحظہ ہو۔

۱۶	ظفر بخش	آگرہ	وزن ۴۶۳ ۱ من ۶ سیر تین پاؤ	سلطان محمد دھلوی	جہانگیر نے ۱۰۳۹ھ میں ڈھلوایا۔
۱۷	قلعہ کشا	دھلی	طول ۲۵ فیٹ تھا	ــــ	شاھجہاں نے ڈھلوایا اسمیں ۸۰ فیصدی تانبہ اور باقی ٹین تھا۔

نمبر شمار	توپ کا نام	کہاں تھی یا ہے	پیمائش و وزن	کس نے بنائی	کیفیت
۱۸	جہاں کشا	ڈھاکہ	طول ۱۷ فیٹ دور ۱۰ فیٹ دہانہ ایک فیٹ سے زناده	——	شاہجہاں نے ۱۶۳۷ھ میں ڈھلوایا - نظام شاہی توپ دھول دھال کے نمونہ پر تیار کرائی گئی در عہد شاہجہاں اسمیں دو من ۶ چاندی سیر اور ۲۵ سیر سونا بھی دوسری دھاتوں کے ساتھ شامل تھا -
۱۹	دھول دھال	——	——	سلطان محمد دہلوی	
۲۰	دھول دھال	دولت آباد	۱۹ فیٹ ۱۰ انچ طول دہانہ کا دور ۴ فیٹ ۸ انچ ہے	منگل سنگھ	یہ غالباً نظام شاہی توپ ہے - ملک میدان کے نمونہ کی ہے ۔
۲۱	قلعہ شکن	,,	طول ۱۸ فٹ $2\frac{1}{2}$ انچ دہانہ کا دور ۵ فٹ اور دہانہ ایک فٹ دو انچ کا ہے	محمد حسین عرب	اورنگ زیب کے عہد ڈھالی گئی -
۲۲	توپ کلاں	اسیر گڈھ	——	متھراداس	اورنگ زیب نے ۱۰۸۵ھ میں ڈھلوایا -
۲۳	زمزمہ	لاھور	طول ۱۴ فیٹ $4\frac{1}{2}$ انچ دہانہ $9\frac{1}{2}$ انچ	شاہ بے نظیر	ابدالی کے وزیر ولی خاں نے ۱۱۵۰ ۱۷۵۷ میں ڈھلوایا ۔ اسنے دو توپیں ایک ھی نمونہ کی ڈھلوائی تھیں - ایک توپ جنگ پانی پت کے بعد کابل جاتے ہوئے دریائے چناب میں غرق ہو گئی - دونوں توپوں میں پیتل اور تانبا

لئے ندی کے کنارے گیا - راجہ دشرتھ بھی اسی جنگل میں شکار کھیلنے کے لئے آیا ہوا تھا جب شرون کمار نے گھڑے کو پانی سے بھرنا شروع کیا تو اسمیں سے قلقل کی آواز کے رخ پر تیر مارا جو شرون کمار کی ہلاکت کا سبب بن گیا (تفصیل کے لئے راماین ایودھیا کانڈ دیکھئے) -

نمبر ۲۴ — خافی خان جلد دوم ص ۳-۲۰۷ -

نمبر ۲۵ — نواب عبدالعزیز خان بہادر چغتائی ہفت ہزاری بانی شاہجہانپور عمدۃالملک نواب بہادر خان پنجہزاری کے سب سے چھوٹے لیکن شہرت وناموری اور اعزاز ومنصب میں سب لڑکوں سے برتر تھے - یہ بھی شاہزادہ عظیم الشان کے طرفدار تھے اور تخت نشینی کی جنگ میں دل کھول کر حصہ لیا (تاریخ صبیح ص ۱۰) -

نمبر ۲٦ — تزک جہانگیری ص ۳٦۷ -

نمبر ۲۷ خافی خان جلد دوم ص ۳۰ -

نمبر ۲۸ — اکبر نامہ جلد دوم ص ۱۴۴ -

نمبر ۲۹ - الیٹ جلد چہارم ص ۵۰۳ -

نمبر ۳۰ — ماثرالاداء جلد اول ص ۲۲۳ -

نمبر ۳۱ سیرالمتاخرین جلد ۲ ص ۴۱-۴۴۰ -

نمبر ۳۲ - چونکہ اس فن میں پیر زمین سے رگڑتا ہوا یا ملا ہوا اسلئے وہ ڈائٹسلکھے پا تراب کہاجاتا ہے - اسکا بگڑا ہوالفظ ہے پینترا -

نمبر ۳۳ طبقات فاخری ص ۱۳۸ - نمبر ۳۴ - اکبر نامہ جلد سوم ص ۴۷-۲۰۷ نمبر ۳۵ ملاحظہ ہو تاریخ فرخ آباد نمبر ۳٦ ریاض السلاطین ۲٦۹ بحوالہ معارف جلد ۶۵ - نمبر ۳۷ وصاف امتوفی ۷۲۸ھ) اور رشید الدین مصنف جامع

التواریخ (المتوفی ۷۱۸ھ) کے حوالہ سے مرحوم علامہ سید سلیمان ندوی نے ''عرب و ہند کے تعلقات'' نامی کتاب میں ص ۷۱ ۲ پر مصر کی تجارت کے بارے میں لکھا ھے ''چونکہ مصر میں گھوڑے اچھے نہیں ہوتے اسلئے شیخ جمال الدین بن عبدالرحمن اور پانڈیا کے راجہ کے درمیان یہ بھی معاھد، تھا جمال الدین راجہ کو ۱۴۰۰ عرب گھوڑے قیس کی بندر گاہ سے لادیا کرے سال میں دس ہزار گوڑے خلیج فارس کی دوسری بندر گاھوں مثلاً قطیف ،بحرین، ھرمزالحساء وغیرہ سے آتے تھے اور ہر گوڑے کی قیمت ۲۲۰ طلائی سکے مقرر تھی ،تفصیلات کے لئے ملاحظہ ہو ھندی قرون وسطی جلد دوم ص ۱۸۷ -

مسلمانوں نے عربی النسل گھوڑوں کی افزائش کیلئے بھرج (واقع سندہ) اور گجرات کے علاقے منتخب کئے اور ھندی النسل گھوڑوں کے لئے بٹھنڈہ، سامانہ اور دامن کوہ شوالک کے علاقوں میں انتظام کیا -

نمبر ۳۸ - نادرشاہ کو ۱۷۳۹ء میں جب دھلی میں پہلی مرتبہ ھاتھی پربٹھایا گیا تو اس نے مہاوت سے کہا ،عنان کجا است ' بدہ' اس نے عرض کیا کے حضور ھاتھی کے لگام کہاں ہوتی ھے جو پیش کروں اسپر نادرشاہ نے کہا پھر وہ سواری بھی لائق اعتبار نہیں جسکی لگام دوسرے کے ھاتھ میں ہو - یہ کہکر وہ ھاتھی پر سے کود پڑا -

نمبر ۳۹ - سفرنامہ ابن بطوطہ ص ۲۰۳-۲۲ اردوترجمہ نمبر ۴۰ - پہلی جنگ ترائن میں محمد غوری کے زخمی ہوجانے پر ایک خلجی غلام گھوڑے کے پیچھے سوار ہو کر نہایت تیز رفتاری کے ساتھ گوڑے کو میدان جنگ سے صاف نکال لے گیا اور ۲۰ میل جا کر اتارا (طبقات ناصری ص ۱۱۹) شیرشاہ کے زمانہ میں ایک سوار نے چتور سے گوڑ تک آٹھ سو میل کی مسافرت تین روز میں کی تھی والیٹ جلد چہارم) جہانگیر کی موت کی خبر آصف خاں نے ایک ھندو بنارسی نام کے ذریعہ جو تیز روی کے لئے مشہور تھا چنگیز ھستی مقام سے جو کوھستان کشمیر کے وسط میں ایک منزل ھے خیبر کو شاھجہاں کے پاس بھیجی تھی - خیبراور چنگیز ھستی کے درمیان ڈیڑہ ہزار میل کا فاصلہ ھے جوھر کارے نے ۲۰ دن میں طے کرلیا تھا (اقبال نامہ جہانگیری ص ۸-۲۰۶ اردو ترجمہ حیدر آباد) امراء چہلگانی کے حالات میں طبقات ناصری کے اندر متعدد واقعات شہسواری و تیز رفتاری کے ملتے ھیں مثلاً تاج الدین کبیر اپنے گھوڑے کے ساتھ متعدد گھوڑوں کو سرپٹ دوڑاتے ہوئے ایک سے دوسرے پر اور دوسرے سے تیسرے پر سواری بدل لیتا تھا اور اسطرح بغیر رکے ہوئے اپنا سفر جاری رکھتا تھا -

نمبر ۴۱ - دریائے سندھ کے مغربی کنارے پر کئی لاکھ تیغ زنوں کیساتھ چنگیزخان نے جلال الدین خوارزم شاہ کو معہ اسکے چند رفقاء کے ساتھ گھیر لیا۔ لڑائی صبح سے لیکر دوپہر تک جاری رہی یہاں تک کہ سلطان خوارزم شاہ کے ساتھ صرف ۷ سو کی جمیعت رھگئی۔ موقع کی نزاکت کا احساس کر کے سلطان کے ماموں زاد بھائی نے بیحد اصرار کے ساتھ اسے میدان چھوڑنے پر مجبور کردیا۔ ایک آخری حملہ کے بعد وہ رخ بدلکر دریا کے کنارے آیا۔ دریا کا کنارہ اُس مقام پر آٹھ دس گز کے قریب بلند تھا۔ اتنی بلندی سے سندھ جیسے تیز و عمیق دریا میں گھوڑا کدا دینا ایسا ھوشربا کام تھا کہ دوست دشمن سب کے منھ سے واہ نکل گئی۔ چنگیز خان اور اسکے مغل جنگ آزما حیرت سے تکتے ھی رہے اور جلال الدین گھوڑا تیرا کر دوسرے کنارے پر پہونچ گیا (تاریخ ھند جلد ۲ مصنفہ سید ھاشمی)

فیروز شاہ تغلق نے جب شاہ بنگال پر حملہ کیاتو وہ اکدالہ کے قلعہ میں محصور ھو بیٹھا۔ قلعہ کی خندق بڑی وسیع وعریض تھی ایکدن ایک سوار نے اپنے گھوڑے کو جو ایڑ لگائی تو گھوڑے کی ٹاپیں قلعہ کی دیوار سے لگیں یہ نظارہ دیکھکر دشمن مرعوب ھو گیا۔ یہ واقعہ تفصیل کے ساتھ عفیف کی تاریخ فیروز شاھی میں درج ہے۔

نمبر ۴۲ - ترائن کی پہلی جنگ میں محمد غوری نے گوبند رائے پرجو ھاتھی پر سوار تھا ایسا وار کیا کہ اسکے اگلے دانت ٹوٹ گئے (طبقات ناصری) ص ۱۱۹

نمبر ۴۳ - طبقات ناصری ص ۱۲۰ -

نمبر ۴۴ - ایک مرتبہ سلطان سکندر نے سنبھل (ضلع مرادآباد) میں مسلسل چار سال تک قیام کیا منجملہ اور مشاغل علمی، تعلیمی اور تفریحی کے اسکو چوگان بازی کا بے حد شوق تھا اور یہ ورزش اور سپاھیانہ مشق ھر روز رھتی تھی۔ (تاریخ داؤدی ص ۱۲۱ اردو) -

نمبر ۴۵ - آئین اکبری جلد اول آئین ۲۵ -

۱۸۵۷ء کی جنگ آزادی میں بہادرشاہ کا حصہ

مفتی انتظام اللہ شہابی اکبرآبادی

پہلی جنگ آزادی جسنے ہماری موجودہ آزادی کی راہیں استوار کیں ایک ایسا موضوع ہے جو ہنوز بہت زیادہ تفتیش و تحقیق کا محتاج ہے۔

اچانک فوجی ہنگامہ کو جسے انگریز غدر سے تعبیر کرتا رہا ہے جنگ آزادی کا ابتدائی حصہ بتایا گیا ہے جو صریحاً غلط ہے۔ یہ ایک مستقل انقلابی تحریک تھی اسلامی حکومت کے برسر اقتدار آنے کا مسئلہ تھا جسکو علما و فقرا نے چلایا — شہید ہوے پھانسیوں پر لٹکائے گئے کالے پانی بھیجے گئے انکے اہل خاندان کو مصائب و آلام کا شکار ہونا پڑا - کسقدر افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ انگریز کے جانے کے بعد بھی ان بزرگوں کو درسی کتابوں میں باغی سے خطاب کیا جاتا ہے انگریز کی موجودگی میں مورخین نے جو کچھ حریت نوازوں کے لئے لکھا وہ مجبوری درجہ کے تحت میں تھا مگر آج کاسہ لیسی کی کیا ضرورت ہے بلکہ قائدین جنگ آزادی کے حالات منظرعام پر لانے چاہئیں اور ملک کی تاریخ میں انکے مجاہدانہ کارناموں کا ذکر تفصیل سے کیا جائے —

اس علمی صحبت میں ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ کے زندگی کے سیاسی حالات پیش کررہاہوں جو اس تحریک کے محور تھے گو اسکی

تنظیم کرنے والے مولوی احمداللہ شاہ عظیم‌اللہ خاں ناناراو پیشوا شہزادہ فیروز شاہ اور امیرالعسکر بخت خان تھے۔

مولوی احمداللہ شاہ محراب شاہ قلندر گوالیاری کے مرید تھے پیر نے ہدایت کی تھی کہ انگریز کو ملک سے نکال کر خود حکومت سنبھالو میرے مرید تمھارے ساتھ ہیں ورنہ جام شہادت نوش کرنا چنانچہ شاہ صاحب نے انگریزوں سے معرکے سر کئے محمدی میں حکومت قائم کی سکہ چلایا مگر دھوکے سے راجہ پوایاں نے اپنی گڑھی پر بلا کر گولیوں کا نشانہ بنایا سر کاٹ کر کلکٹر شاہجہاں پور کے سامنے پیش کیا اور پچاس ہزار روپیہ انعام حاصل کیا مصنف علی گڑہ اور پاکستان ہسٹوریکل سوسائٹی کے جرنل میں مفصل حالات شائع کراچکا ہوں عظیم‌اللہ خان ناناراؤ پیشوا کے کامدار تھے نانا کی پنشن ضبط کی گئی اسکے مرافعہ کے لئے یہ لندن گئے ۵ لاکھ روپیہ ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے ڈائرکٹران کی دعوتوں پر صرف کر کے کورے لوٹ آئے نانا اور تانتیاٹوپی کو شریک مشورہ کر کے انگریزون کو ملک سے نکالنے کی اسکیم مرتب کی اس سلسلہ میں تمام ہند کا دورا کیا نوابوں راجاؤں سے ملاقات کی دلی بھی گئے تانتیاٹوپی نے جوگی کا بھیس اختیار کر کے فوجوں میں گشت لگایا چربی کے کارتوس کا اشقلہ چھوڑ دیا جسکا ہی یہ اثر تھا کہ پہلے پہل منگل پانڈے نے کارتوس دانت سے کاٹنے کا انکار کیا اور انگریز افسر کی گولی کھائی۔ اس واقعہ نے فوجیوں کو مشتعل کردیا ادھر انگریز کی ستم آرائی نے ملک میں عام بیچینی پیدا کردی تھی —

ملک تودۂ بارود بنا ہوا تھا کہ میرٹھ کے قضیہ کارتوس سے شتابہ لگا۔ ملک میں آگ بھڑک اٹھی قائدین نے جو تاریخ مقرر کی تھی اس کے قبل یہ واقعہ پیش آیا —

ابو ظفر ۱۸ شعبان ۱۱۸۹ھ میں پیدا ہوئے شاہ عالم کا عہد تھا انکے والد مرزا اکبر شاہ تھے والدہ کا نام لال بائی تھا سن شعور کو پہنچے تو حافظ ابراہیم انکے اتالیق مقرر ہوئے - قاری حافظ محمد خلیل سے قرآن مجید پڑھا - سید جلال‌الدین حیدر مرصع قلم کے والد میر ابراہیم علی شاہ نے تحریر کی مشق کرائی عربی فارسی ادب کی تحصیل کے بعد فنون حرب تیر اندازی شہسواری تیغ زنی نشانہ بازی اور بنوٹ میں ید طولیٰ تھا - ظہیر دہلوی نے داستان غدر میں لکھا ہے کہ آٹھ آدمیوں کے مقابل میں ہر ایک کا وار بیک وقت روکتے تھے اور سب پر اپنی چھوٹ چھوڑتے جاتے تھے اور شہسواری میں یہ کمال حاصل تھا کہ اسوقت پورے ہندوستان میں ڈھائی سوار مشہور تھے ایک خود دوسرے انکے بھائی مرزا جہانگیر اور ادھا کوی اور مرغ بازی اور بٹیر بازی سے بھی شوق رکھتے تھے اوائل عمری سے شاعری کی طرف میلان تھا شاہ نصیر اور بیقرار سے کلام کی اصلاح لی پھر حضرت ذوق استاد شہ کے منصب پر فائز ہوئے انکے مرنے کے بعد ۱۸۵۴ء میں مرزا غالب کے سپرد یہ خدمت ہوئی دلی کے صاحب کمال لوگ ارد گرد رہتے تھے حکیم عبدالحئی نے گل رعنا میں دلی کا یہ نقشہ کھینچا ہے -

”دلی اسوقت آج کی ایسی دلی نہ تھی بڑے بڑے کہنہ مشق شاعر مولوی امام بخش صہبائی علامہ عبداللہ خان علوی مفتی صدرالدین خان آزردہ و مرزا اسداللہ خاں غالب نواب ضیاء الدین خان نیر شاہ نصیرالدین نصیر شیخ محمد ابراہیم ذوق حکیم مومن خاں مومن حکیم آغا جان عیش علامہ فضل حق فرقتی عبدالرحمن خاں احسان اور خدا جانے کتنے سخنوران باکمال کا جمگھٹا تھا جب یہ

لوگ ایک جگہ جمع ہوتے ہوں گے تو آسمان کو بھی اس پر رشک ہوتا ہوگا''۔

ابو ظفر ۱۸۳۷ء میں سربرآرائے اورنگ سلطنت ہوئے عمر ۶۲ سال کی تھی حکمرانی قلعہ دھلی کی چار دیواری کے اندر محدود تھی سوا لاکھ روپیہ ماہوار وظیفہ انگریز دیتے تھے روز بروز القاب و آداب میں کمی کی جانے لگی لفٹننٹ گورنر کالون مائی ڈیر ظفر سے خط کا آغاز کرتا فرماتے ھیں۔

اب وہ لکھتا ھے وہ کاھے کو یہ لکھتا تھا کبھی
دیکھ لو اس بت بے پیر کا اگلا کاغذ

دارا بخت کے بعد ولی عہد مرزا فخرو تھے ۱۸۵۶ء میں ان کا انتقال ہو گیا بادشاہ نے شہزادہ جوان بخت کو جو نواب زینت محل کے بطن سے تھا ولی عہد کرنا چاہا اور محضر نامہ جسپر آٹھوں بیٹوں کے دستخط تھے سرکار کمپنی کے پاس بھیجا عمال کمپنی نے مرزا قویش سے پندرہ ہزار روپیہ ماہوار اور لقب شاہی موقوف اور کسی اور جگہ کے قیام پر معاملہ کرلیا بادشاہ کو معلوم ہوا کہتے ھیں۔

اے ظفر اب ھے تجھی تک انتظام سلطنت
بعد میرے نے ولی عہدی نہ نام سلطنت

بہادر شاہ کے ساتھ جو انگریز سلوک کر رھے تھے اس کا اثر اھل شہر لے رھے تھے۔

میرٹھ میں ۹ مئی کو انگریز کرنل نے ۸۰ سواروں کو کارتوس کاٹنے کا حکم دیا سواروں نے انکارکردیا حکم عدولی پر ۱۴-۱۴ برس کی قید کی سزا دی گئی اسپر فوج بگڑ گئی اور انگریزوں کو تہ تیغ کرنا شروع کیا جیل سے سب کو چھڑا لیا اور ۱۰ مئی کر دھلی آگئے۔ غلام حسن خاں نے نصرت نامہ گورنمنٹ میں لکھاتا ھے کہ تلنگوں (فوجوں) نے شہر پر قبضہ کیا اور بہادر شاہ

سے حسین علی بریلوی رسالدار اور دوسرے افسر ملے بادشاہ معہ شہزادوں کے چاندنی چوک آئے اور فوجیوں سے کہا کہ میں جان و مال سے تمھارے ساتھ ہوں لیکن میرے پاس خزانہ نہیں ہے اور نہ فوج نہ ملک البتہ میرا ملک مجھ کو ملجائیگا تو میں تم کو بھی عنایت خسروانہ سے سرفراز کروں گا سب سردار فوج بولے کہ ہم لوگ اپنا سر حضور کے قدموں پر نثار کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں چاہتے ہیں کہ تمام ہندوستان میں حضور کی سلطنت قائم کرکے ابدی نیک نامی حاصل کریں بادشاہ نے ارشاد فرمایا ''ہمت کرکے مخالفوں کو نکال دو اور ہمارا سکہ جاری کردو''۔

اسکے بعد بادشاہ قلعہ واپس آگئے دوسرے دن صبح کو بادشاہ نے دیوان خاص میں دربار کیا چاندی کی کرسی پر جلوہ افروز ہوئے دربار میں فوجی افسران عمائد شہر مفتی صدرالدین خاں نواب علی قلی خاں نواب محمد علی نواب ولی داد خاں ضیاءالدین خاں نیر تھے مرزا غالب نے حاضری سے معذوری ظاہر کی سکہ کہکر بھیجدیا۔ صاحب عالم مرزا مغل مرزاخضر۔ سلطان مرزا ابوبکر مرزا عبداللہ مرزا قویش مرزا جوان بخت حکیم احسن اللہ خاں نواب زینت محل پس پردہ رونق افروز ہوئیں۔ تمام اہل کار اور مرشد زادے قرینے سے کھڑے ہوئے۔ مرزا ظہورالدین عرف مرزا مغل خلعت فاخرہ اور خطاب سپہ سالاری سے سرفراز کئے گئے اور مرزا ابوبکر ابن مرزا فخرو کو فوج کی سرداری دی گئی مرزا خضر سلطان۔ محمد بختیار شاہ مرزا عبداللہ پسر شاہ رخ علاحدہ علاحدہ فوجوں کے افسر بنائے گئے نواب زینت محل کی ماتحتی میں والنٹیر کور دی گئی مرزا مینڈھو ایک پلٹن کے کپتان مقرر ہوے نواب محمد حسن خان خضر سلطان کے نائب مقرر ہوئے مرزا معین الدین حسن کو مرزا مغل کی نیابت ملی میر فتح علی وزیر صحرای مرزا جواں بخت

وزرات کے عہدہ پر سرفراز ہوئے نواب ولی داد خاں کو دوآبہ کی صوبہ داری عطا ہوئی راو صاحب پرگنہ دادری کو خلعت اور نقارہ و نشان مرحمت ہوا مسٹر سائمل انگریزوں سے رسد چھیننے پر مقرر ہوا دربار برخاست ہوا اسکے بعد راجہ نوابوں کو فرمان جاری ہوئے انگریزوں کو مار کر نکال باھر کیا ۔ احسن اللہ خاں کی سازش سے میگزین آڑادیا گیا ۔ نواب خان بہادر خاں نے بریلی میں اپنی حکومت قائم کرلی اور اپنا نمائندہ صوبہ دار بخت خان کو حکومت کی سند حاصل کرنے کے لئے دلی بھیجا یہ ۶ ہزار روھیلہ اور توپ خانہ ساتھ لیکر یہاں پہونچے بریلی مرزا مغل وغیرہ نے استقبال کیا بادشاہ کے حضور میں حاضر ہوئے تین لاکھ روپیہ نذر گذرانا لارڈ گورنر کا خطاب عطا ہوا اور تمام فوج کے امیرالعسکر بنائے گئے چاروں طرف سے فوجیں اور مجاھدین چلے آرہے تھے منشی ذکاءاللہ نے لکھا ھے ۸۰ ہزار نفوس دلی میں جمع ہوگئے تھے بخت خان نے فوج کی کمان ھاتھ میں لیکر انگریز کی پٹائی شروع کردی مولانا فضل حق الور سے الہ آباد سے مولوی لیاقت علی بریلی سے امیرالمجاھدین مولوی سرفراز علی بخت خاں ڈاکٹر وزیر خاں اکبرآبادی، مولوی میر فیض احمد بدایونی دلی آ گئے بخت خاں کے مشورہ سے مولانا فضل حق نے جہاد کا فتویٰ دے دیا اسپر دیگر علماء کے ساتھ مفتی صدرالدین خاں کے بھی دستخط تھے ۔ بخت خاں کا روز بروز اقتدار بڑھ رہا تھا مرزا مغل کو مرزا الہی بخش نے سکھا پڑھا دیا کہ یہ اپنی حکومت کے ڈول ڈال رہا ھے کامیابی پر یہ بادشاہ بن جائے گا مرزا مغل خود اپنی بادشاھت کے خواب دیکھ رہے تھے یہ بہکائے میں آ گئے اور بخت خاں کے منصوبوں میں مخل ہونے لگے بخت خاں انگریزوں سے جہاں مقابل ہوتا کامیاب ہوتا شہزادے جہاں مقابلہ کرتے پسپا ہوکر آتے مورچوں پر انگریزوں کا قبضہ ہونے لگا آخرش ۱۹ ستمبر کی رات کو انگریزی فوج نے شہر کے بڑے حصہ پر قبضہ کر لیا شہر پر گولہ باری

شروع کردی یہ رنگ دیکھ کر بخت خاں بادشاہ کے پاس
حاضر ہوا اور عرض کی کہ دلی میں اب انگریز سے لڑنا لا
حاصل ہے مگر ہمارا کچھ نقصان نہیں ہے تمام ہندوستان
ہمارے ساتھ ہے اور ہر شخص کی نظر آپ پر لگی ہوئی
ہے آپ میرے ساتھ نکل چلئے ہزارہا روہیلہ آپ کے قدموں میں
جمع کردوں گا مرزا مغل نے میرے منصوبوں میں رخنہ
ڈال کر یہ دن دکھایا ورنہ انگریز کی مجال نہ تھی کہ
وہ دلی کا رخ بھی کرتا مرزا الٰہی بخش بھی وہاں
موجود تھا کہنے لگا خانصاحب اپنے بزرگوں کا انتقام
مغلوں سے لینا چاہتے ہو اور بادشاہ سلامت کی آڑ لیکر
خود بادشاہ بننا چاہتے ہو بخت خاں نے تلوار کے قبضہ پر
ہاتھ رکھا ہی تھا کہ بادشاہ نے کہا کہ مرزا کی بات کا خیال
نہ کرو میرے دل میں تمہاری بڑی قدر ہے تم مجھے
سونچنے کا موقع دو بخت خاں اپنے کیمپ میں لوٹ آیا
دوسرے دن بہادر شاہ قلعہ سے نکل کر ہمایوں کے مقبرہ میں
آ گئے وہاں پھر بخت خاں حاضر ہوا بادشاہ نے کہا
خانصاحب مجھکو میری قسمت پر چھوڑدو اور جاؤ خود کچھ
کر کے دکھاؤ چنانچہ یہ اپنی فوج کو لیکر لکھنؤ چلا گیا اور
مولوی احمداللہ شاہ کے ساتھ ہو گیا اسکے جانے کے بعد مرزا
الٰہی بخش ہڈسن ظالم کو لیکر بادشاہ کے پاس آئے اسنے بہادر
شاہ کو پالکی میں سوار کراکر زینت محل میں لیجا کر قید کردیا
مرزا مغل اور خضر سلطان اور مرزا ابوبکر کو گولی ماردی اور
انکے سر کاٹ کر بادشاہ کے سامنے پیش کئے پھر تو دلی میں قتل
عام شروع ہوگیا امام بخش صہبائی کے ساتھ ۱۲ سو نفوس کو
انگریز افسروں نے توپ دم کرادیا ۲۷ جنوری سنہ ۱۸۵۸ع کو لال
قلعہ میں فوجی عدالت میں آخری تاجدار دودمان تیموریہ سرکاری
ملزم کی حیثیت سے پیش ہوے وکیل سرکار نے جو فرد قرارداد جرم
سنائی اسمیں باغیوں کو امداد دینا ۴۹ انگریزوں کا قتل کرانا

۱۰ مئی سے یکم اکتوبر تک شہر پر قبضہ کرنا باوجودیکہ انگریزی رعایا ہونے کے خود کو بادشاہ مشہور کرنا ۔غرضکہ نتیجہ پہلے سے جو ہونا تھا طے پا چکا تھا وہی ہوا بادشاہ کو جلا وطنی کا حکم سنا دیا گیا اور رنگون بھیجدیا وہاں انہیں چھہ سو روپیہ ماہوار خوراک کے لئے مقرر کیا غیور بادشاہ نے ٹھکرادیا ابو ظفر چار سال نہایت عسرت میں بسر کر کے ۷ نومبر سنہ ۱۸۶۱ء کو دنیا سے رخصت ہو گئے اور فرما گئے ۔

رہے پیری میں اس لئے جیتے
دیکھنے کچھ عذاب کے دن تھے

ماخذ

ثورة الہندیہ — مولانا فضل حق خیرآبادی
تاریخ احمدی — مولانا فتح محمد تائب لکھنوی
محاربہ عظیم
قیصرالتواریخ حصہ دوم
ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی اور باغی علماء
غدر کے چند علماء
مصنف علی گڑھ
آل پاکستان ہسٹوریکل سوسائٹی جرنل

Sulaiman Karrani's ralations with Emperor Akbar

Dr. M. A. Rahim, M.A.Ph.D. (London)

In his relations with the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Sulaiman Karrani, the Bengali ruler, showed great political wisdom and sagacity. In this field, his policy had threefold features. In order to placate the powerful Mughal Emperor, he made an outward show of submission to him by making occasional presents and having his name entered in the *Khutbah* and coins.[1] Secondly, Sulaiman followed the footsteps of his elder brother in maintaining friendly relations with the Mughul viceroy of the eastern provinces. Indeed the maintenance of friendship with the Mughal viceroy on the border of Bihar formed the cardinal principle in the foreign policy of the Karrani ruler. Lastly, while maintaining a position of outward submission to Emperor Akbar, Sulaiman Karrani also pursued a policy of watchful opportunism opportunity to cause embarrassment to the Emperor.

The contemporary, Mughul historians say that Sulaiman Karrani made presents to Akbar and read the *khutbah* and struck coins in Emperor's name.[2] The Afghan historians, Ni'matullah and 'Abdullah, however, say that Sulaiman Karrani established sovereign power in Bengal and Bihar.[3] We cannot accept the view of the Afghan historians because Sulaiman Karrani did not issue any

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1. *Akbarnamah*, III, 19-20 and 69; Badauni, II, 173-74, *Tabaqat*, II, 281,
2. Ibid.
3. *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, B.M. MS., 170a; Daudi, BM, MS., 126a.

coins. The right of coinage was regarded as an essential insignia of sovereign power. Though Sulaiman Karrani ruled for eight years, 1566-72, we have not found any of his coins, while we have a good number of coins of his son Daud, who ruled only four years, 1572-75.

Besides, Sulaiman did not assume the title of Shah or Sultan as Daud did after him. He took upon himself the title of '*Hazrat-i-'Ali*' or His Exalted Highness. Both the Mughul and Afghan historians agree on this point.[1] The title of *Hazrat-i-'Ali*' does not indicate that Sulaiman claimed sovereign power. This was a title first assumed by Sher Shah in 1535 when, after his victory over the combined forces of the Bengali Sultan Mahmud III and the Luhani ruler Jalal Khan at Surajgarh, he became the master of Bihar.[2] Though he became supreme in Bihar and assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-'Ali*' Sher Shah did not have his name entered in the *khutbah* and coins and he continued to recognise the *de jure* sovereignty of Emperor Humayun. It was only in 1539 after the battle of Chausa that he assumed the title of 'Shah' and claimed for himself sovereign power by strucking coins and reading the *khutbah* in his own name. Sulaiman Karrani's assumption of the *Hazrat-i-'Ali*' title suggests that he was a *de facto* ruler of Bengal just as Sher Shah had been in the period, 1535-39.

Moreover, the Afghan historians wrote long after Sulaiman Karrani had died. Being of the same race, they were carried away by their sentiment for their ruler and wrote that he rose to sovereign power. Also there is no reason to disbelieve the evidence of the contemporary Mughul historians, particularly of Badauni, who had nothing but praise for Sulaiman Karrani. We see that the Mughul historians have informed us that Bayazid and Daud assumed the insignia of royalty. Had their father Sulaiman Karrani assumed sovereign power they would have mentioned it.

There are other considerations which favour the evidence of the Mughul historians. Sulaiman was a shrewd and prudent ruler.

1. *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, BM. M.S., 170a ; Daudi, BM. MS., 126a and Badauni, II, 163.

2. 'Abbas, India Office MS., 10 ; BM. MS., 47a.

He aimed at preserving and strengthening his position without giving offence to the powerful Mughul Emperor. His assumption of *de jure* sovereignty would have thrown a direct challenge to him. Akbar, who already greatly distrusted the Afghans and who also aimed at installing himself as paramount ruler over the whole of India, could not have tolerated Sulaiman's open assumption of royalty. So, Sulaiman had to be very cautious in his relations with the Mughul Emperor. Though he was *de facto* ruler in Bengal and Bihar, he wanted to placate the Emperor by owning lip homage to him. Abū-'l-Fazl saw through the policy of Sulaiman and called him a hypocrite, who, to secure his position, made an outward show of submission.[1] In fact, Sulaiman's hypocrisy was his statesmanship. It saved his position as well as the home of the Afghans in Bengal and Bihar. It also enabled him to acquire Orissa and to strengthen his position.

Besides it would have been difficult for Sulaiman Karrani to maintain friendship with the Mughul viceroys Khan Zaman and Khan Khanan, if he had assumed the insignia of sovereign power. Akbar could not have allowed his viceroys to contract friendship with his open enemies.

Forced to accept some practical limitations to his own power, Akbar had to be satisfied for the time being with Sulaiman Karrani s show of submission. Indeed, from the very beginning of his reign he wanted to expel the Afghans from Bengal and Bihar. In 1557 when Sikandar Khan Sur surrendered Mankot, Akbar resolved to clear Bengal of the Afghans.[2] Again, in 1563 when he re-appointed Khan Zaman to the viceroyalty of Jaunpur, he assured him in a *farman* that he would confer on him the government of Bengal if he could conquer it.[3] But Khan Zaman never showed any eagerness to conquer Bihar and Bengal from his friendly Afghan rulers. Besides, to the great embarrassment of Akbar, the viceroy showed signs of rebellion and in 1565 he actually rose

1. *Akbarnamah*, III, 19-20 and 69.

از انجا که عمل منافقانه داشت سر رشته بندگی ظاهر رانمی گسیخت -

2. *Badauni*, II. 18-19.
3. *Bayazid Biyat*, India Office MS., 100a.

against the Emperor. In 1567, Akbar's brother, Mirza Kamran, also rebelled against the Emperor in Kabul adding to his difficulties and inability to grapple with the Bengal problem.

Moreover, Sulaiman Karrani was a powerful ruler. He had a large army and immense riches,[1] With his other troubles in the empire, Akbar could not have risked an expedition against him, So, he had to be satisfied with Sulaiman's lip service.

Himself a wise and prudent man, Sulaiman obtained the devoted services of a very wise *vazir* whom Abū-'l-Fazl calls as the rational spirit of the Afghans.[2] Ludi had served Taj Khan Karrani as his *vazir* and as such was well trained in the diplomacy of his master. It was the diplomacy of Taj Khan to maintain friendly relations with Khan Zaman, the Mughul viceroy at Jaunpur. Indeed, he was a very shrewd politician. Badauni mentions him as the wisest and the most learned man of the Afghans,[3] He realised that if he was to maintain his position in Bihar and conquer Bengal, he must have good relations with the Mughul power. Akbar was bent on conquering Bihar and Bengal. Bahadur Shah, the Sur Sultan of Bengal, also was not inclined to tolerate the independent attitude of Taj Khan in Bihar. So, Taj Khan was between two fires and it stands to his credit that, by his diplomacy, he not only preserved his position but also acquired the throne of Bengal.

Considering an alliance with the Karranis of Bihar to be useful to him, Khan Zaman, who thought of rebelling against the Emperor, responded to Taj Khan's gesture of friendship. As a mark of his friendship, Taj Khan made occasional presents to the viceroy.[4] In 1559, he sent Khan Zaman the present of some elephants and pieces of some muslin (Bengali fine cloth).[5]

In 1562 when Akbar reappointed Khan Zaman to the viceroyalty of Jaunpur, in a *farman* he promised to assign to him the

1 *Akbarnamah*, II, 325 ; Stewart-History of Bengal, 152x and De Laet, 14.

2. *Akbarnamah*, II, 326 and III, 2o.

3. *Badauni*, 1, 4o9.

4. *Akbarnamah*, II. 325 and Bayazid Biyat, India Office MS., looa.

5. Bayazid Biyat, looa.

country of Bengal if the latter could conquer it from the Afghans. Bayazid Biyat says that Khan Zaman could easily conquer Bengal and really he conquered it, but he gave it to Taj Khan.[1] In fact, in view of the enemity between Sur Afghans and the Karrani Afghans and the civil strife at Gaur, it would not have been difficult for the veteran Mughal general Khan Zuman to conquer Bengal and Bihar. But he did not wish for the expansion of the empire of Akbar. He was planning to rebel against the Emperor and to establish an independent kingdom in Jaunpur. In his contemplated scheme, Khan Zaman counted on the Karranis and hence he strengthened his friendship with Taj Khan. So, it is probable that he helped Taj Khan in conquering Bengal from the Sur Afghans.

Under the advice of Ludi, Sulaiman Karrani followed his elder brother's diplomacy and always maintained good relations with the Mughul viceroy on the western border of his territory by means of friendly communications and rich presents. It served Sulaiman two-fold purposes It secured his position against the impending Mughul invasion and afforded him an opportunity to conquer Orissa. Also it gave him an apportunity to cause embarrassment to Akbar.

Much to Akbar's embarrassment, in 1565 Khan Zaman rebelled in Jaunpur. The Emperor feared that as Sulaiman was friendly with the powerful viceroy, he might helped him in his rebellion.[2] To prevent Sulaiman from helping Khan Zaman, he sent Haji Muhammad Sistani as an envoy to him. The Afghans, however, seized him near the fort of Rohtas and sent him to Khan Zaman.[3] Akbar also sent another diplomatic mission led by Hasan Khan *Khazanchi* and Mahapattar, a man unrivalled in the art of Indian music and poetry, to the Raja of Orissa so persuade him that if Sulaiman helped the rebel viceroy, he was to invade Bihar and Bengal. The Raja received the envoys with honour and formed an alliance with the Emperor. He agreed to put forth Ibrahim Khan

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1. *Bayazid Biyat* Indian Office M.S.. 10a.
او بنگاله را باسان ترین وجهے میگرفت بلکه او گرفته بتاج خان داده بود
2. *Akbarnamah*, II, 253.
3. Ibid, 253-54 ; Tabaqat, II, 183-84 and Badauni, II, 76.

Sur, who was a refuge at his court, as a rival claimant for the throne of Bengal and Bihar and to fight for him against Sulaiman.[1]

Sulaiman Karrani, however, helped Khan Zaman by sending him an army under his generals, Kala Pahar and Sulaiman Mankali[2] He also took advantage of Akbar's embarrassing situation to make an attempt on the fort of Rohtas[3] from the Afghan chief Fath Khan Batni, who has seized it in 1561. Akbar, who had come to Jaunpur to deal with Khan Zaman, sent a force under Qulij Khan towards Rohtas. At this Sulaiman withdrew from the siege. Being relieved of the danger, Hasan Khan Batni, however, forgot his promise to the Emperor and he made preparations for its defence So, the Mughal general had to return disappointed.[4]

Sulaiman continued to give help to Khan Zaman. Through the efforts of Khan Khanan Mun'im Khan, Khan Zaman was reconciled to the Emperor. Again in 1567, Khan Zaman rebelled in favour of Mirza Hakim and at Jaunpur he read the *khutbah* in his name. In an engagement with the imperial forces, he was, however, killed.

Khan Zaman had built a fort named Zamaniya near Benares. At the time of his death, one of his followers named Asadullah held the fort Feeling that he would not be able to maintain his hold on it, Asadullah propose to surrender the fort to Sulaiman Karrani. Being aware of this, Khan Khanan Mun'im Khan, who succeeded Khan Zaman to the viceroyalty of the eastern provinces, conciliated him. As the fort passed into the hands of the imperial officers, Sulaiman's army had to retreat from before the fort[5]

At the death of Khan Zaman, Sulaiman Karrani lost a very valuable friend in the Mughul empire. At the advice of Ludi, he, however, decided to make friends with Khan Khanan Mun'im Khan. In 1567 Sulaiman sent presents and friendly messages to him. Mun'im Khan responded to this gesture of friendship. To cement their friendship, Ludi arranged for a meeting between Sulaiman and

1. *Tabaqat*, II, 183 ; Akbarnama, II, 253-54.
9. *Akbarnamah*, II, 258.
3. *Ibid*, 253 and Badauni, II, 78-79.
4. *Ibid* and Tabaqat, II, 185.
5. *Akbarnamah*, II, 325 and Bayazid Biyat, India Office MS., 9ob.

Mun'im Khan. With his followers and officers, Mun'im Khan set off for Patna. Ludi and Bayazid came to receive him. When Mun'im Khan was five or six *kos* from Patna, Sulaiman himself came to receive him and embraced him. First Mun'im Khan gave a feast to Sulaiman in his camp. Next day Sulaiman gave him a feast. He made suitable presents to him and to the Emperor. Sulaiman also entered the name of the Emperor in the *khutbah* and coins. [1]

A few Afghans suggested to Sulaiman the seizure of Mun'im Khan. They argued that it would cause confusion among the Mughuls and enable them to occupy Mughul territories. Sulaiman and Ludi, however, did not accept their suggestion. Fearing that the unruly Afghans might injure Mun'im Khan, they arranged for his safe return to his place. [2]

Secure in the friendship of Mun'im Khan, Sulaiman Karrani seized the opportunity created by Akbar's preoccupation in the conquest of Chitor to invade Orissa and in 1568 he conquered it. [3] Sulaiman maintained the friendship with Mun'im Khan as long as he lived.

Thus Sulaiman Karrani's prudence and sagacity saved for the Afghans their home in Eastern India which Sher Shah's far-sighted political wisdom had built for them. Much against his inclination, Akbar had to be satisfied with his outward show of submission. Sulaiman's method of kindly treating the self-willed Afghan chiefs kept the solidarity of the Afghans[4] and the Mughal Emperor found no scope to realise his imperialistic designs on Bengal and Bihar.

Indeed, the Afghan dominion in Eastern India prospered and preserved its integrity as long as Sulaiman Karrani lived. His death in 1572 was, however, a calamity for the Afghans, because his mantle fell into the hands of his incompetent sons, who, discarding the prudent and sound policy of their father and introducing dissension among the Afghans, caused the ruin of the Afghan Sultanate in Eastern India.

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1. *Akbarnamah*, II, 325-26.
2. *Ibid*, 326-27.
3. *Ibid*, 324 and 326.
4. *Akbarnamah*, III, 20 and Daudi, BM, MS., 126a.

Part played by Haji Shari'atullah and his son in the Socio-Political History of East Bengal

Prof. Mohd. Nurul Karim

In Islam Politics is in separate from religion. Political powers and military equipments are essential conditions for the preservation of the laws of Allah and the teachings of the Holy Prophet. This is distinctly clear from the verses of the Holy *Quran*[1]. The truth of the Quranic verses was well reflected in the life history of the *Khulafa-i-Rashidin* which represents the golden age of Islam. Religious reforms are therefore, absolutely necessary for the political regeneration of the Muslims. This has been the case with almost all the countries of the Islamic World. Hazrat Shah Waliullah's religious Tabligh in the Pak-Indian subcontinent, Md. Ibn Wahhab's religious movement in Arabia, Jamaluddin Afghani's and Md. 'Abduhu's religious and cultural movements in Egypt and Sanusi's social reform in Africa were all pregnant with great political consequences in future. All such movements were separately con-

1. (a) Do not be weak (at what) and do not worry, you will occupy the highest place provided you be Momin or faithful (in the strict sense of the term).

(a) ولا تهنو ولاتحزنو وانتم الاعلون ان كنتم مومنين

(b) And Equip yourself with the strength of (cawalry) army so that you may terify the enemies of Allah and your enemies.

(b) واعدو ماستطعتم من قوة ومن رباط الخيل ترهبون به عدوالله وعدوكم

(c) Obey Allah and the Prophet and the authority among you.

(c) اطيعوالله واطيعوالرسول واولى الامر منكم

ducted in different countries and it is not necessary to think that one followed the other. The great dynamo of faith everywhere lay dormant : as soon as it was cleared of all rusts and impurities, it operated and produced wonderful results.

A religious and social reform of this type was started for the first time in one remote corner of East Pakistan in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The great sponsor of this movement was Haji Shari'atullah of Faridpur, a district of East Pakistan. He was born in 1764 A.D. in the village of Bahadurpur [2] in the *Thana* Circle of Seeb-char and in the Pargana Bandarkhola, Faridpur. Early imbued with religious ideas, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca at the age of eighteen and visited it a second time and stayed there for about twenty years, studied the *Quran* and *Hadith* under Shaikh Tahir Al-Makki, the great teacher of the Shafai School and became an Arabic scholar of great reput.

He came back to his native district in 1802. [3] In 1804 he founded the religious sect known as *Faraidi.* It is said that during his stay in Mecca he thrice saw the Holy Prophet in dreams directing him on each occasion to go back to Bengal and to start the reform movement. [4] He therefore, came back here and undertook this great task of reform. As a religious reformer, Haji Shari'atullah directed his move against those customs and practices which were not observed in the days of the Holy Prophet and *Khulafa-i-Rashidin* and against those customs which were the outcome of non-Muslim influences. Besides, Haji Shari'atullah was bent on giving relief to the poor Muslim peasants of the country against the extortion and tyranny of the Hindu landlords and money lenders.

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2. According to the Geographical and statistical report of the district of Jassore, Faridpur and Bakerganj by Colonel J. E. Gastrell, 1868, It is *Daulatpur.*

3. (a) Bengal District Gazetteer, Faridpur by L.L.O. Malley C. I. E 1925 page 38.

(b) Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam by H. A. R. Gibb and I. H. Kirmers page 99.

4. (c) *Maqalat-e-Pir Badshah Mian.*

Haji Shari'atullah changed the term of *Pir* and *Murid* for *Ustad* and *Shagird* which did not mean complete submission and therefore did not carry a sense of *Shirk* or Polytheism. He also prohibited the practice of laying on of hands at the first stage of a disciple on the hands of a *Pir* but required that *Tauba* or repentance should be made in the strict sense of the Quranic term. He also promulgated the dogma that it was a deadly sin and one derived from the Hindus to allow a midwife to cut the navel cord when it was the duty of the father to do so. [5] He further prohibited dancing and singing at the time of wedding ceremonies and stopped the habits of squandering large sums of money at marriage festivals. He also objected to the employment of certain persons to perform the ceremony of circumcision in families and forbade the commemmoration of the martyrdom of Hassan and Husain, grandsons of the Holy Prophet.

But the proclamation of profound significance which he made was his prohibition of the Friday and *Id* prayers. He declared that as long as his country was under non-Muslim rule it was to be considered a *Darul-Harab* or Place of War and as such, such prayers were not here legal. The indirect significance of his proclamation was that such prayers could only be performed if the country could be turned into *Darul Islam* or a place of Islam. In such a declaration of Haji Sahib lay the undoubted germ of political regeneration of his countrymen.

Haji Shari'atullah had a large number of followers from among the vast uneducated peasants of the country. Gradually his influence increased and none hesitated to carry out his orders. For sometime he carried his work of reform in Faridpur and then shifted his centre of activity to Nayabari, in the district of Dacca. Here he not only preached his new *Faraidi* doctrines but also helped the poor Muslim peasants against the tyranny and oppression of local Hindu Zamindars

5. ***District Gazetteer Faridpur*** page 38 ; Shorter Encycl.

and moneylenders. After staying here for some time he went back to his native village where he remained for the rest of his life *i.e.* till his death in 1840 A.D. There he grew in importance and power. His blameless exemplary life induced the peasantry to venerate him as a father powerful enough to give them guidance and consolation in times of their adversity. He was the first preacher who roused the Bengali peasants to enthusiasm in a most extraordinary way. "But he acted with great prudence and caution, namely assuming any other character than that of a religious reformer".[6] He had stirred his countrymen to political consciousness by resuscitating the dormant spirit of their faith. The spirit of revolt which he had aroused among his countrymen against the tyranny and oppression of non-Muslim landlords and non-Muslim practices and culture went a great way in creating hatred in the minds of the people against the domination of the British as well. For sometime he was kept under the ban of the police for exciting his disciples in the country to withhold the payment of revenue.[7] The movement received a greater force at the heads of his son and successor Dudhu Mian.

"A very different person was his son Mohd. Mohsin, better known as Dudhu Mian, who extented an influence far surpassing that of his father. His name is a household world throughout the districts of Faridpur, Pabna, Bakerganj, Dacca and Noakhali and the number of followers at the time testified to the thoroughness of the work that he and his father had accomplished.[8] "He was born in 1819 A.D. and like his father made a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca at an early age and on return he devoted himself to the spread of his father's doctrine and to others which he introduced.

The most remarkable advance which he had made was the *organisation* of the *Faraidi* Society. He divided East Bengal into many circles and appointed his own representative or *Khalifa* to each

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6. *District Gazetteer Faridpur* (Dr. Wie) page 39.

7. *James Taylor A Sketch of the Topography and statistics of Dacca* 1840. page 250.

8.

in order to further the cause of the society. Dudhu Mian was always kept informed, through these organisations, of all occurrances regarding the tyranny of the Zemindars and the European indigo planters. The tyranny of the Zamindars and planters during this period reached to an amazing height. The Muslim *ryot* was compelled to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Durga or towards the support of any idolatrous rites of his Hindu landlords besides being compelled to pay high rates of rent. Dudhu Mian not only offered a stubborn resistance to all such oppressions but also went a step further and declared that the earth belonged to Allah and that no one had a right to enjoy it permanently as inheritance. He also encouraged his followers to settle in Khas Mahal lands managed by Government.

The oppression of the Indigo-planters was of greater concern to Dudhu Mian. "Every form of oppression that unrestrained tyranny could devise or the inventive imagination of rapacity could contrive, were put fix into practice by the Indigo-planters".

Murder, homicide, riot, arson, dacoity, plunder and kidnapping were some of the means by which the *ryot* wrs forced to take up the cultivation of Indigo.

It was said that not a chest of indigo reached England without being stained with human blood [9].

Dudhu Mian proved competant to deal with these Indigo planter. He had his large number of followers among the peasants ready to carry out his orders. Between 1838 to 1846 he was many times committed to the sessions by the conspiracy of the Zamindars and planters but was acquitted on each occassion as no evidence could be produced against him. In 1846 he gave an ideal punishment to European Planter. Mr. A. Dunlop, the indigo planter of Panchchar factory, Faridpur was an uncompromising opponant of Mian. On December, 5, 1846 a large body of his men attacked the factory of Dunlop and burned it to the ground, Dudhu Mian and sixty of his followers were tried by the Session Judge in

9. *Nil Darpan* by Din Bandhu Mitra; Fifty years ago by prof. Hemchandra Chakladar M.A. The Dawn Society, Magazine, Calcutta, July, 1905,

1847 and convicted; but on appeal to Sadar Adalat, they were acquitted. So much awe and terror he created in the minds of the British that on the cut break of the war of independence in 1857 he was very treatfully captward and put into prison and was released after the close of the war. He died in 1861 in his own village.

It was among the cultivators and village workmen that Dudhu Mian gained the largest number of converts. He asserted the equality of mankind and taught that the welfare of the lowest and poorest was as much an objects interest as that of the highest and the richest. As early as in 1843, the sect had attained such dangerous proportions as to form a subject of special inquiry by Government The head of the Bengal Police reported that a single one of their preachers had gathered together some eighty thousands followers who asserted complete equality among themselves, looked upon the cause of each as that of the whole sect and considered nothing criminal if done in behalf of a brother in distress." [10]

Dudhu Mian had no direct connection with his contemporary Titu Mir of 24 parganas of West Bengal, (a disciple of Saiyd Ahmed Shaheed Barelvi) who fought bravely for the cause of independence in about 1831 A. D. It was not also possible for Dudhu Mian to co-ordinate his work with that of Titu Mir in the face of the British power. It is, said that Dudhu Mian once met him in the Calcutta Presidency Jail and as marks of mutual appreciation they both exchanged their *Tasbih* and Pir Badshah Mian, a grandson of Dudhu Mian, now an old man of seventy says that the *Tasbih* of Titu Mir is still in his possession. [11]

The sect lost its vigour with the death of Dudhu Mian, The *Fatwa* of Mawlana Keramat Ali Jaunpuri which declared that Pak-Indian Territory was not a *Darul Harb*, gave a great blow to the sect.

Dudhu Mian had three sons, Ghiasuddin, Naya Mian and Saiduddin. The British Government courted the friendship of his third son Saiduddin and gave him the title of Khan Bahadur. In

10. Hunter—*The Indian Musalman*, .p 92.

11. *Maqalate Pir Badshah Mian*.

view of the great power of British and their suppression of Muslim agitation, Maulana Saiduddin had not the courage to refuse the title or deny the friendship of the British.

Meanwhile the *Faraidi* movement gradually merged itself in the great movement sponsored by the followers of the Sayyid Ahmed Shaheed who were designated as Wahhabi, by the British and followers of both the groups were found annoyed against the British in the fields of war [12].

Badshah Mian, son of Maulana Saiduddin and grandson of Dudhu Mian showed some activity which recalled the past tradition of his grandfather. He was well known for his anti-British attitude and agitation. During the great non-cooperation movement of 1921 he presided over many conferences and specially over one held at Barisal in 1921 where both Maulana Mohammad Ali and Mr. Gandhi were present [13]. He was subsequently imprisoned in the Faridpur Jail for his anti-British speeches and agitations. He is now an old man of seventy, having a large number of disciples and is known as Pir Badshah Mian.

Though the *Faraidi* movement became dormant and decadent in course of time yet it has left it marks on the life of Bengal. It aroused the religiosity of the people, created in them courage and confidence which went a great way in awakening the subsequent political consciousness of the people of Bengal. The term *Faraidi* has become a household word and a proverbial expression in almost all the places of East Pakistan and many of the families and houses are still known as *Faraidis*.

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12. *Hunter*—p. 92.
13. *Maqalate-Pir Badshah Miyan*.

A peep into the patronage of Hindi literature at Akbar's Court

(**Summary**)

Dr. A. Halim

[The paper discusses the contribution of writers and poets patronized by Akbar. It is divided into two parts. The first part is connected with the poets of the *Bhakti* School who were invited to attend the imperial court or were honoured by the Emperor's visit to their hermitages. Such were Swami Haridas of Vrindaban; Surdas and Kumbhandas among the Ashtchhap and Dadu Dayal.

The second part is devoted to the discussion of the Emperor's poetic talents in Hindi. This is followed by a discussion on court poets like Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Todar Mal, Raja Birbar, Mahapatra Narahari Manohar, Holrai Jagannath, Raja Askaran and Balbhadr Acharya. A few illustrations of the compositions are given in Persian script. The close connexion existing between the courts of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri with that of Raja Indrajit Sing Bundela has also been shown.

The last portion contains some observation on literary trend and its significance on the age.]

Akbar's toleration coupled with his zeal to play the part of a just ruler to all sections of his subjects, found reflexion in his patronage of arts and letters. If he was inquisitive to learn the talents of Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Jainism and admire their basic principles, his synthetic mind was equally inclined towards the patronage of Hindi, and Persian, the latter the language of the court and medium of polite conversation. In fact he was the first ruler of the Mughal dynasty who turned his attention towards the revival of indegenous culture and art forms. This is evident from the activities of the philologists and translators who under his patronage, rendered into Persian, Krishanjoshi, Gangadhar, Mahesh-Mahanand, the Mahabharat (renamed Razm-namah, the Book of Wars), the Lilawati (Arithmetic Tajak) (astronomy), the Ramayan, the Atharvan Athar-veda), Raj-Tarangi (History of Kashmir), Kalila-wa-Damna, Nal-Daman, [1] and Sinhasan Battisi (Thirty two tales of the throne).

The subject under discussion which is full of absorbing interest, may be discussed under two main headings, namely his favours to writers of the *Bhakti* and *Sufi* cults and his patronage courtiers and musicians clustered round his capital.

The *Bhakti* movement, that is the adoration of a personal loving god in the form of Rama or Krishna, (as incarnations of Vishnu) had contained in its fullest swing during the 15th and 16th centuries. It was through the *Bhagats* of the Krishnite

(1) *Abul Fazl*, Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, P 104-105.

School that Braja hitherto a spoken dialect of Mathra and the adjoining areas was raised into a chaste literary medium. The *Bhakti* movement of the Krishnite cult of Northern India started with Goswami Vallabhacharya (1478-1530) of Vrindaban and spread its ramification throughout the length and breadth of the country. The discussion on the contribution of the individual *Bhagats*, whose number can be counted in scores, is outside the scope of this small paper. I shall bring into narrative only those Bhagats who were honoured by Akbar by being invited at his court or being visited by the emperor in their hermitages.

The first Bhagat to deserve mention in this connexion was Swami Haridas of Vrindaban, (1485-1575), a contemporary of Goswami Vallabhacharya, and founder of the Tatti Sect of the Krisnite School. The Swamiji, it may be mentioned, was a great musician and preceptor of Mian Tansen. Akbar used to visit him in his retreat at Vrindaban, in the company of Tansen, and listen to his music (2) The Mian, it is said, would first begin wrongly singing a song at Akbar's beckon, whereupon the protesting Swamiji would reproduce the correct version by singing it over again. (3) Swami Haridas's compositions include Swami Haridasji Ki Pad, Haridasji Ki Grantha, Swami Haridasji Ki Bani. Many of his songs have been quoted by Pandit Krishnanand-Vyasdeva in his Sangi-ta-Raga-Kalpa-druma. (4) It is well-known to students of Hindi literature. that some of the greatest composers of Hindi, were the eight disciples of Goswami Vallabhacharya of Vrindaban and his son, Goswami Vitthalnath, who are known under the collective nomenclature of the Asht-chhap. Of them I could connect only Surdas, and Kumbhandas. both being honoured by Akbar, though it is difficult to say if others too received his attention, because most of the poets were Bhagats and Bhagats were writers and poets, and all of them were musicians,

2. & 3. *Sukdev Bihari Misra Hindi Sàhitya aur itihàs*, Ramdin Lectures, Patna University, Patna, page 175.

4. Edited by N.N. Vasu, Calcutta, 1905.

since music was used by the Bhagats as a vehicle for spreading their cult.

Surdas (birth 1483 A.D.) was the son of Ramchandar of Gopchal, a Deccani Brahman, described by Abul Fazl as Baba Ramdas and mentioned in the list of Akbar's musicians. Surdas was a blind poet who lived in Agra and was decidedly the best of the Asht-chhap and the greatest poet of the Braj Bhasha. His chief fame as a poet rests on his Sūrságara, being a verrified rendering of the Bhagavat-Purana originally containing 125,000 verses. (5) The writer has come across a version of the Surságar in Persian script, in the Subhánallah Section of the Aligarh Muslim University Library. The theme of the Sūrságar is the boyhood of Krishna in Vrindaban described with such vividness and naturalness as to give the reader an impression that the poet watched the scenes described Surdas knew Persian and he uses Persian words and idioms in Hindiised forms. (6) Surdas is mentioned in the list of Akbar's musicians, and the great Mian Tansen spoke of his musical accomplishments in complimentary tones. (7) A good number of his songs in the form of 'pads' from the Sūrságar, have been quoted in the third book of Pandit Krishnanand Vyásdeva's Sangīta-Rága-Kalpadrūma.

Kumbhandás, a disciple of Goswami Vallabhachárya of Vrindabán was given over to asceticism and renunciation. At Akbar's request he paid a visit to Fatehpur Sikri, refusing the use of a *Pálki* sent for him, and walking the whole distance on foot. He expressed his disgust in the following lines.

بھگتن کو کہا سیکری سون کام—آوت جات پنہیان ٹوٹی بسری گیو ھری نام
جاکو مکہ دیکہے و کہ لاگئے تنکو کرے پری سلام.
کمبہداس لال گر دھر بن اور سئے بیکام

Ayodhya Sing Upadhyáya, (Hari Awadh), Hindi Bháshá aur uske Sáhitya ká bikás, P. 294.

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5. Shyàm Bihàri Misra, *Triennial Report on Search for Hindi* Mss, 1912, 1913 1914, P. 4. No. 3 (No 186 AHP I)
6. Maulàna Muhammad Husain Azad, *Ab-i-Hayát*, P. 19 for illustration
7. *Tansen speaking of Surdas.*

(Continued on next page)

What business has a holy man with Sikri.

In coming and going I have broken my slipper and have forgotten the name of Hari.

One has to salute them whose sight excites pain

Oh Kumbhandás, without the darling dweller of the Govardhan hills (*i. e.* Krishna), the rest are of no avail.

Dádū, Dayál, (born in Ahmadabád, Gujrát, 1544, and died at Naraina, in Jaipūr State. in 1603 A. Q.), was the founder of a religious Sect, known as the Dádū-Panthīs, a ramification of Kabīr's Panth, traceable from Kamál, Kabīr's only son, Dádū was a writer of ' Sákhīs ' and 'Pads in Hindi, Marathi, Marwari, Gujrati, Hindi and even in Persian, but he was the greatest as a writer of Braja Hindi. (8) Dadu, it is related, was summoned at Akbar's court, possibly at Ajmer, in connexion with his Gujrat campaign,

(Continuéd from previous page)

(8) Lala Sitaram, *Selections from Hindi Literature* Vol. IV p. 246.

کیدھون سور کی سرلگیو کدھون سور کی پیر

کیدھون تی سورکی پد لگیو تن من دھونت شریر

(Sukdev Bihari Misra P. 166)

Sur complimenting Tansen

بیدھنا یہ جیو جانی کئے سہی دیئے نہ کان

دھرا میرو سب ڈولتے تانسین کی تان

(Sukdev Bihari Misra P. 166)

Translation.

(Tansen praising Surdas).

1. Let me sometimes sacrifice myself, to sometimes take upon me the afflictions of Sur(das)
2. Let me sometimes kiss the feet of Sur so that his mind and body get expressed in me (*i.e.* my fame)

(Surdas complimenting Tansen.)

What a (strange) freak of destiny that Sisa (the mythical serpent which props the burden of the earth) is not endowed with ears !

2. Yet (inspite of it) the earth and the axis all quiver at the melody of Tansen.

N B. Here the implication is that if Sisa had heard Tansen's music, he would have shaken in ecstasy, and caused the earth to quiver; but Tansen's music such that it brings the earth and the axis to tremour, indpendently of the Sisa Therefore Tansen's music is more effective in shaking the earth with its axis than the movements of Sisa.

and passed forty days in the imperial camp. (9) Swami Nipat-Nirayian was a good poet of Hindi who flourished during the middle after 15th century and was honoured by the Emperor visit. It is not possible to say whether Goswami Tulsidas, the greatest poet of Hindi of the century and a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, had any contact with the emperor or the imperial court, but the Swamiji is credited to have exchanged poetic epistles with Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim, the greatest of the court poets of Hindi. There were *Sufi* poets in Hindi like Maulana Rizqullah Mushtaqi, (author of Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi). Maulana Rizqullah who lived in Delhi, wrote two treatises in Hindi, *viz.*, the 'Pamain' (from Paman wheat of superior kind), and 'Jot-Niranjan' (Light unlimited by quality or attribute) (10). 'Rajan' was his Hindi pen name.

An impetus in the cultivation of Hindi came no doubt from the situation of Agra and Fateh-pur Sikri in the heart of the Braja-speaking country. The emperor himself, on the other hand, though illiterate took a lively interest in literary, theological and philosophical discussions, and had books on these and other subjects read out to him. He was a poet too. On good authority, he composed a few couplets the first two verses of which read as follows.

جاکی جس ہے جگت میں سبئے سراھئے جاھی
تاکی جیبن سپہل ہے کہت اکبر ساھی

Hari Awadh (Ayodhyá Sing Upadhyáya Hindi Bhásha aur uske Sábitya ká bikás page 311.)

Translation,

One who has fame in the world, and is praised by all,
His life alone is successful, says Akabbar Sháh.

On another occasion, while Raja Mansingh, refused to cross the Indus from Attock on religious grounds, after receipt of a *farman* to pursue his half-brother Mirza Hakim, Akbar sent for the Kunwar a Hindi couplet from his Lahore camp,

(9) Sukdev Bihari Misra, *Hindi Sahitya aur Itihas*, p. 175.

(10) Dr. Abdul Haq Haqqi, *Akhbar-ul-Miliyat* Hashmi Press, p, 163,

whereupon the general crossed the Indus. The lines are well-known

سبھے بھومی گوپال کی یا مین اٹک کہان

جا کی من مین اٹک ھے سوئی اٹک رھا

(Sukdêv Bihári Misra, Hindi Sáhitya aur Itihás, p. 184.)

Translation:

All the Universe belongs to Gopal where is the obstruction in it.

The man in whose mind is Attak (obstruction) remains obstructed.

(The second Attak has double meaning)

On hearing the news of the defeat of the Mughal troops and death of the general, Rája Birbar, in the disastrous Yusufzai campaign, Akbar gave vent to his grief in Hindi verses (11) and did not touch food or water for two days and nights (12).

Poets of Hindi like Rája Todar Mal, Rájá Bīrbar, Mīrza Abdur-Rahīm Khán Khánán, Mīrza Manohar, Máhápatra Narharī, Holrái, Jagannáth, Gang. Gangbhatt, Mián Tánsen and others flourished in his court. Rája Todar Mal, well-known to students of History as the incorruptible finance minister, was a poet and at least one of his pads is well-known. It is on incomplete virtues, and the lines bearing his *nom de plume* are as follows :—

ٹوڈر سو کہی تیسے من مین بیچار دیکھو

دھرم بنو دھن جیسے پچھی بنا پر ھے

(Hari Awadh, page 300.)

Translation.

Oh Todar, the good poet, think in your heart, Wealth without piety is like a bird without feathers.

One Surajdás, an Amīn of the revenue department misused thirteen lacs of dáms in feeding Sádhus, and fled after

11. Sukdev Bihári Misra, Hindi Sáhitya aur Itihás, 165.

12. *Akbarnāmah*, Abul Fazl, Beveridge's Trans, Book III 732.

writing two verses on the cash chest. Akbar pardoned his fault, but the Amīn preferred to stay in Vrindában in the company of the Sádhus. (13) Rája Bīrbar (Maheshdás) son of a poor Bhatt Bráhman (of the ministrel class) was a boon companion of the emperor for his ready wits and poetic musical talents, and was the recipient of the title of Kabrái (Kavī-Rái), the poet laureate of Hindi. Bīrbar as a poet, seems to have been a writer of isolated pads, and bore the *nom de plume*, Bráhman. He was a generous patron of Hindi poets ' Abdur-Rahīm Khan Khanan (964/1556-57, d 1627 A.D.) was one of the nine Jewels of the Durbar, and was the best Hindi poets of the court. He was the author of Madanâshtak, a book of bilingual verses, Barbai Náyiká-bhed, Pashchat-dhyáyī, Sáhitya-Sutra, and Rahīm Satsai (that is, a collection of 700 verses). He was the patron of the poet Gang, who wrote a versified panegyric on Abdur-Rahīm Khan Khanan.

Ráī Manohar or Mīrza Manohar, son of Rája Lonkaran, the Kachhawah, was a Mansabdar of 2000 and a good poet of Hindi and Persian. Akbar honoured him by naming an ancient site near Ambar as Manoharpur. (14) Holrai was a poet in attendance on a Darbari of Akbar. Jagannath Pandit was the poet who eulogised Akbar by dubbing him Lord of the Universe (Dillishwara ba Jagadishwara ba.) Mahapatra Narhari, the poet; was instrumental in Akbar's prevention of cow slaughter in his empire. He had made an appeal through some verses which worked a change in the mind of the emperor. Raja Askaran, the Kachhawah, a younger brother of Raja Bhagwandas, who later on succeeded to the gadi of Nárwar (in Gwalior state), and held a *mansab* of 3000 (15), was good poet of Hindi. (16) Balbhadra Achárya. (17) was a good composer, and wrote the Dushan-vichár, and Nakhshish

13. Sukdev Bihari Misra, Hindi Sáhitya aur Itihas, 164.
14. Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, P. 294-295; No. 265. Nizámuddīn *Tubaqāt-i-Akbari* Vol II, 452,; Beveridge. *Akbarnamah*, III, 46.
15. Nizamuddin, *Tabaqát-i-Akbari* II, p. 441
16. Sukdev Bihari Misra. 179,
17. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnamah*, III, Beveridge, 46,

Pritwī-Raj of Bikanir, frequently mentioned in the third volume of the *Akbarnamah*, was a composer of Braja dialect. Of his three books, the Prem-pradipīka is the most famous.

Baz Bahadur (Bayazid Khan), the ex-king of Malwa, and Mian Tansen were musician-poets, their songs have been quoted in *Sangita-Raga-Kalpadruma*. Mian Tansen composed in archaic Braja dialect and in difficult setting, and his compositions do not strictly follow the rules of meter and rhyme, and therefore the critics of Hindi do not hold a high opinion of him as a poet. There is no relevance in the length of verses so that one verse is too short another too long. This is generally the case with musician-poets, because in songs even a shorter line may be lengthened by the formation of additional foots in the course of singing.

Akbar's court of Agra and Fatehpur-Sikri was in close contact with that of Raja Indrajītsingh Bundela at Orchha (Aundchha of Muslim historians). The Rája was a very warm-hearted patron of Hindi writers and poets. Keshavrai was the best poet of the Orchha durbar and he and Prabin Rai, the unwedded wife of the Raja, who was a good poetess, were invited at Akbar's court. Thus it is apparent that partly through the cult of *Bhakti* and partly through the imperial patronage, the Braj dialect became the medium of Hindi poetic composition. And the domain of Braj increased with the spread of the Krishna cult throughout the length and breadth of the north and even parts of south India.

Usually though the Bhagats composed and sang the sports of Krishna some time in expressions which did little credit to their sanctity, the predominant tone of their poetry, was the portrayal of *Bhakti* bháo, which degenarated in the atmosphere of peace and luxury of the later reigns, into the Shringar bhao (the passionate attitude).

The *Bhakti* poetry of the age in the form of the antics of Krishna to which the bhagats and poets attached allegorical meaning, became the main theme of classical music.

And lastly though we have prose-writers like Goswami Vitthalnath, who wrote the Shringar Rasa-Mandana, Goswami Gokul-nath (son of Vittalnath) and Gang-bhau it is difficult to say if they were patronised by Akbar or not.

The Chronology of the first two Sultans of Madura

S. A. Q. Husaini

In the early thirties of the 14th century, Sharif [1] (Sayyid) [2] Jalalu'd-Din Ahsan, [3] a Governor [4] or Kotwal [5] of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq at Madura, the capital of Ma'bar, the southernmost province of the Empire, revolted and established an independent *saltanat*. The date of his revolt is usually considered to be 735 A. H. on the basis of a coin of Sayyid Ahsan which bears that date, [6] we are told by Ibn Battutah that Ahsan Shah ruled for five years. [7] A coin of Sayyid Hasan's successor, 'Alau 'd-Din Udawji Shah, bears the date 740 A. H. [8] and the same date is engraved on the coin of the third Sultan of Madura, Qutbu 'd-Din Firuz Shah. [9]

On the basis of these pieces of evidence it is assumed that Jalalu 'd-Din revolted and established an independent kingdom in

(1) Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, p. 200.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 189 ; Barani, p. 408.

(3) *Ibid.* Yahya bin Ahmad (p. 108, and following him Bada'uni call him Sayyid Hasan. The latter even confuses him with Hasan Gangu.

(4) Ibn Battutah, Vol. p. 328. line 4.

(5) Futuhu 's-Salatin (Madras) p. 469, 1st line.

(6) Seen by Mr. Rodgers and reported to Dr. Codrington in a letter dated November 1, 1898, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 673.

(7) Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

(8) J. A. S. B., 1895, Plate IV, figure 8.

(9) *Ibid*, Plate IV, figure 9.

735 A. H. and ruled upto 740 A. H. when he was succeeded by 'Alau 'd-Din Udwaji Shah. The latter is assigned a rule of only "a few months" in 740 A. H. on the ground that Udawji's predecessor died in the same year.[10] If Jalalu'd-Din died in 740 A. H. and if 'Alau'd-Din's successor ascended the throne in the same year, the Sultan who ruled between these two could not be assigned the rule of more than "a few months" during the year 740 A. H. This is the present position.

In this paper I have striven to place the accession of Ahsan Shah in 734 A. H. on the basis of a coin[11] and to spread the reign of 'Alau'd-Din Udawji over two years (739 and 740 A. H.) as implied in a passage of Ibn Battutah.[12]

There is inscriptional and numismatic evidence to prove that Muhammad bin Tughluq's sway over Madura continued till 1334 A. H. There is a dated inscription in the Pudukottah State which mentions the Adi Sultan (Muhammad Tughluq). It is on the east wall south of the entrance of the Central shrine in the Gnanapuriswara temple at Pannaiyur in Tirumayam Taluq dated 27th Panguni of the 9th year of Muhammad Sultan (A. H. 734).[13] A coin[14] of Muhammad bin Tughluq of Ma'bar fabric and found in Ma'bar bears الواثق بنصرالله on one side and محمد بن تغلق شاه on the other. It is dated 734 A. H. Thus it is established beyond doubt that Muhammad ruled over Ma'bar in 734 A.H.

Messrs. Desika Chari and Ranga Chari have observed a coin[15] of Jalalu'd-Din Ahsan Shah dated 734 A. H. but they have not given the transcript of the legend. Prof. Hultzsch has dismissed the coin with the remark "The date 734 on

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(10) *Ibid*, 1895, p. 52.

(11) Coin No. 13 noticed by Messrs. Desika Chari and Ranga Chari in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 31, p. 232.

(12) Vol. IV, p. 189, lines 8 and 9.

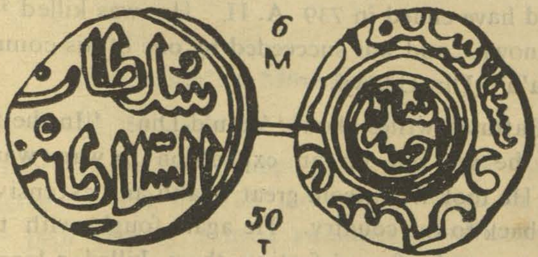
(13) Inscription No. 070, Chronological list of Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State, Published at Pudukottah in 1939.

(14) J.R.A.S., 1909, Plate between pp. 680 and 681, Fig. 2.

(15) Indian Antiquary, p. 232, Coin No. 13.

D. 13 is therefore not impossible, but requires to be proved by a reproduction of the coin itself."

Mr. Rodgers has reproduced the coin[1] given below which "is of the same type."[2]



Mixed Metal.

Obverse	Reverse
سلطان السلاطين	In Circle احسن شاه
	In Margin
	سنته اربع و ثلثين و سبعمائه
The Sultan of Sultans	Ahsan Shah
	The year four and thirty and seven hundred.

The unit word اربعه (four) could not be read by Mr. Rodgers because the ا (alif) and the head of the ع ('ayn) are worn out. I am able to see the main outline of the word اربعه and also the lower part of the ر (ra'). There is no unit word in the Arabic language other than four which can have the form ربعه Moreover, the coin reported by the South Indian scholars belongs to the same group[3].

From the foregoing evidence it is clearly established that Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign in Ma'bar continued till 734 A. H.

1. J.A.S.B. 1895, Plate IV, figure 6.
2. J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 673.
3. J.R.A S., 1909, p. 673,

(1333-34) and that in the same year Jalalu'd-Din Ahsan revolted and established the Saltanat of Madura.

According to Ibn Battutah, his (the traveller's) father-in-law Sharif Jalalu'd-Din Ahsan, ruled for five years. [2] If Jalalu'd-Din ascended the throne in 734 A. H. and reigned for five years, his rule should have ended in 739 A. H. He was killed [3]—by whom it is not known—and was succeeded by one of his commanders by name 'Ala'u'd-Din Udawji. [4]

Ibn Battutah writes about 'Ala'u'd-Din: "In the first year of his reign, he set out on an expedition to wage war against the infidels. He took from them great wealth and extensive booty and returned back to the country. He again fought with them in the second year and after defeating them killed a large number of them." [5] This passage of the North African traveller states that Ala'u'd-Din Udawji ruled during more than one year.

He was killed during the second year's campaign and was succeeded by his son-in-law Qutbu'd-Din Firuz Shah. [6] We have a coin of Qutbu'd-Din dated 740 A. H. [7] and we know from Ibn Battutah that he ruled only for forty days. Thus it is almost certain that the year 740 A. H. was the second year of 'Ala'u'd-Din's rule and that he ascended that throne in the year 739 A. H.

Now we can state with certainty that Sharif Jalal'u'd-Din Ahsan established the independent kingdom of Madura in 734, A.H.; that he was killed in 739 A.H. when Ala'u'd-Din Udwji succeeded him; and that the latter ruled during a part of 739 A.H. and a part of 740 A.H.

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2. Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, P. 189.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Ibn Battutah Vol. IV, p.189, last line.
7. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plnte IV, Figure 9.

The Fara'idi Movement

Dr. Mohammad Abdul Bari

In this short paper an attempt has been made to briefly outline the history of the Fara'idi movement, which in the early decades of the 19th century roused enthusiastic self-consciousness into the minds of the callous and apathetic Bengali peasants and artisans. A reform movement, which started as a protest against the religious and social evils in the contemporary Muslim society and which continued to be principally a religious movement during the life time of the founder, Ḥaji Shari'atullah, the Fara'iḍi movement, under the vigorous leadership of Dudhu Mian, Haji Shari'atullah's son, assumed the character of an agrarian movement. The creative and fruitful period of the movement, however, came to a close with the confinement of Dudhu Mian in the Alipur Jail—the climax of the joint efforts made by the Zamindars and Indigo Planters whose vested interests were seriously threatened by Dudhu Mian's revolutionary preachings.

Essentially Ḥanafite, Fara'idis held views at once distinct from both the Reformists led by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahid Barelwi and the Wahhabis of Arabia. And with no political doctrine to preach, theirs was a movenment which had nothing to do with *imāmat* and with *tasawwuf*, two very important points in the teachings of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid.

To quote M. DeTassy, "Le culte de Mahomet était trop simple pour un pays on domine une religion allégoriquc et idolatre qui parle aux sens et a l'imagination plutot qu'a l'espirit et au coeur." [1] In

1. Journal Asiatique, New Series, tom VIII, p. 87-88.

no other country, perhaps, had the Muslim embodied so many pagan and animistic rites and customs in their own creed as in India. This was particularly true of Bengal where the Muslims, although a majority, were far removed from the cultural centres of 'Hindustan,' and consequently the more susceptible to the cultural influences of their economically advanced neighbours. Many a religious practice and observance adapting itself to the physionomic indigene lost its original nature and significance, and was practised in a way little comfortable to and even at variance with the spirit of the Quran.[2] The popular religion thus consisted of *chiragh tabarruk*, *Ziyarat*, *jhanda*, and *'urs*. And in a country of so many gods and goddesses, saint-worship assumed, with the Muslims, a new importance. The saint "remplaceut pour les Musulmans comme je l'ai dit, les dieux nombreaux des Hindous. Dans chaque ville, dans chaque village, que dis-je ? dans la capitale religieuse de l'inde payne a Benares meme, sont ensevelis un on plusieurs saints qui sont les patrons de l'endroit, mais souvent inconnus aileurs" and Muslim masses entered into the worship of saints with more enthusiasm than into the regular religious exercises which are obligatory.[3]

The Muslim society of Bengal, in the early years of the nineteenth century, testified to the truth of Iqbal's remark, "Surely we have out-hindued the Hindu himself; we are suffering from double caste system, sectarianism and the social caste system which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus."[4] The doctrine of caste gained a complete practical ascendancy over the Muslims and occasioned a vast number of sub-divisions, the members of which did not intermarry and often did not eat in company[5] As among the Hindus trade and occupations played a very significant and

2. In this connection special reference may be made to the observance of *Muharram* and *Shab-i-bara'at*.

   See, Mir Sher Ali Afsos : Ara'ish-i-Mahfil, pp. 123-24; J.A.S.B. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), LXIII, pt. 111, No. 1, pp. 35-36; Jafar Sharif : Qanun-i-Islam, Chap. XIV, sec. 3 Shah M. Ismail Shahid ; Sirat-i-mustaqim, pp. 191-203.

3. See, Journal Asiatique, op. cit., p. 104; Martin : Eastern India, vol. II, pp. 352 and 645-46 and vol. III, p. 59.

4. As quoted in Census of India Report (Punjab), vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 165.

5. Martin, op. cit., vol. III, p. 150.

important part in parcelling the Muslim society into so many classes. The *ashraf* would rather die of hunger than allow his honour to be sullied by following the 'low' occupation of a cultivator, and a Sayyid daughter preferred to live ' her numbered days in single blessedness' than to accept the hand of a commoner. [6]

The standard of education even among the *Qadis* was appallingly low. According to Dr. Buchanon's findings, most of the *Qadis* of Bengal "read the Qur'an without understanding Arabic", and their knowledge of the tenets of their religion was very limited and their practice of its various observances the more deficient. [7]

For salvation it was deemed essential that one should be a *murid* of a certain *pir*. These *pirs* who were credited with impossible powers and were often besought with for even the bestowal of children to sterile women, were more often than not totally ignorant of the religion and came to occupy the *gaddi* of their illustraiions ancestors by virtue of an accidental birth. [8]

It was only to be expected that this socially divided, educationally backward, culturally demoralised and religiously degenerate community should, with the loss of the political power, sink deeper and deeper. But as we very often find in history the right man appears at the right time. This time, in lower Bengal, it proved to be Haji Shari'atullah who in the first decade of the nineteenth century started a reform which came to be known as the Fara'idi movement.

A word must be said about the term Fara'idi. In the official report prepared by T.E. Ravenshaw the term is given as "Ferazie

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6. See *Ibid*, vol. I, pp. 110-112. vol. II, pp. 111-113 and vol III, pp. 406-408 ; Mrs. b. Meer Hassan Ali : Observations on the Mussulmans of India, vol. I, p. 8; Hamilton ; East India Gazetteer vol. I, p. 108.

7. Martin, op. cit., 1 : 134, 11 :431-32. 446, 724 and 111-512; Mirza Hayrat : Hayat Tayyibat. p. 7.

8. Ibid, 11 : 447 and 111:148. See also Hayrat, op. cit., pp. 7-14 ; Journal Asia ique op. cit., pp. 100-101 ; J .A.S.B. vol. LXIII op. cit., pp. 37-38.

The followers of Shah Karim Ali in the distric of Tippera went so far as to believe that their *pir* could restore to life the dead (J.A.S.B. vol. XLIII, pt. 1, No. 1, p. 96) and a section of the Madaris were of the belief that Prophet Muhammad obtained access to heaven only through the word, "dam Madar" (Asiatic Journal, vol, IV, p. 76)

derived from ferz ".[9] This reading has been accepted by H. Beveridge,[10] Dr. James Wise[11] and the anonymous author of the useful article, 'A Sketch of the Wahhabis in India'[12]. According to this reading the term has been derived from *farḍ* i.e., divine law, and refers to the observers of the law or farḍ ". But following their reported statement as quoted by Maulana Karamat Ali, "Actions are of two kinds, customary and obligatory, and we hold fast to the *fara'iḍ* i.e., the obligatory, ones"[13] we prefer to call them Fara'idi, *fara'iḍ* being the plural of *far'iḍat.*

Little is known about the person of Haji Shariatullah beyond the information that "born of obscure parents probably, *julahas*, or weavers, who resided in a village of Parganah Bunderkhola, *zila* Faridpur; he went to Makka when he was only eighteen, studied, according to one report,[14] with al-Shaykh Ṭahir al-Sanbal al-Makki, and returned to his country after an absence of twenty years. Our authorities put the date of his return variously in 1802 1820 and 1828[15], Taylor adding that the Ḥaji visited Makka twice and finally returned to Bengal in 1828. If[16] the first date 1802, is accepted any possibility of Shari'atullah's coming into contact with the Wahhabis, who entered Makka for the first time in 1803 is to be precluded. If, on the other hand, the second date, 1820 is accepted the Fara'iḍi movement becomes junior to the Reform movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahid Barelwi, an opinion Dr. Wise himself does not hold[17] Taylor's solution of two visits, too, in the absence of corroborating evidence may not help to clear up the confusion.

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9. See, S.R.B.G. (Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal), vol. XLII, p. 140.
10. See, District of Bakergang its history and statistics, p. 254.
11. J.A.S.B. LXIII, op. cit., p. 33.
12. See, The Calcutta Review, vols. L & LI.
13. Nasim al-haramayn, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 160.
14. *See*, E. I. (Encyclopaedia of Islam) Vol. II, p. 57, article, Fara'id
15. *See*, Ibid, J.A.S.B., LXIII, op. cit., P. 48 and Taylor: Topography of Dacca, P. 248.
16. Taylor, op. eit., p. 248.
17. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIII op. cit., p. 53.

Ḥaji Shari'atullah started his movement among the most depressed and poor class of Muslims, whom even their more fortunate co-religionists viewed with derision. With his sympathy and understanding of their difficulties and worries and his living with them as one of them without any claimsoever to any superiority to the lowest of them except perhaps being their *ustad*, the Haji won over the hearts of poor ryots who soon "venerated him as a father, able to advise them in seasons of adversity and give consolation in time of affliction," and ready to go to any length to carry out his wish. With one or two exceptions Ḥaji Shari'atullah had been successful in confining his reforms to religious questions only, and throughout his lifetime the movement remained mainly and principally a religious movement.[18] An account of the Fara'iḍis of the time given by James Taylor, a Surgeon in Dacca for long eight years, in his 'A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca', submitted to the Government "in compliance with the requisition addressed to Medical Officers to furnish reports on the topography and statistics of their respective districts and stations" is at once authoritative and revealing, coming as it does, from an impartial and contemporary source. Mr. Taylor states, "They (the Fara'iḍis) profess to adhere to the strict letter of Koran and reject all ceremonies that are not sanctioned by it. The Mohurrum festival, as it was observed by Mohamed and by the prophets before him as they assert, is strictly kept more particularly the 10th day of this moon, which they regard as peculiarly sacred......but the commemoration of the martyrdom of Ḥassan and Ḥussein, which is held at this time, is not only forbidden but even witnessing the ceremonies connected with it, is avoided by them. They reject the rites of Puttee Chuttee and Chilla which are performed between the first and fortieth day after the birth of a child and observe the rite of ukheekha ..In the same way they have divested the marriage ceremony of its formalities.....The funeral obsequies are conducted with a corresponding degree of simplicity, offerings of fruits and flowers at the grave and the various *fatiha* ceremonies being prohibited ; their graves are not raised above the surface of

18. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIII, op. cit. pp 48-51

the ground nor marked by any building of brick or stone. The Ferazees have the character of being stricter in their morals than their Muhammadan breathren, but they are inclined to intolerance and persecution, and in showing their contempt of the religious opinions of their neighbours they frequently occasion affrays and disturbances in their town." [19]

A different personality was Ḥaji Shari'atullah's son [20] Muḥammad Muḥsin, better known as Dudhu Mian, who after the death of his father assumed the leadership of the Fara'idis. Under his vigorous and more enterprising leadership the Fara'idis developed into a highly well-organised and well-knit but somewhat turbulent group, and began to take an active interest in the economic life of the country, and "soon became objects of dread to Hindu, old Mohammadan and European landlords". "Following the example of the Vaishnavas", Dudhu Mian "partitioned Eastern Bengal into circles and appointed a khalifa, or agent, to each, whose duties were to keep the sect together, make proselytes and collect contributions for the furtherance of the objects of the association". At the head of this elaborate machinery presided Dudhu Mian himself now styled a *pir* - a daviation from the tenets of the founder who had prohibited the use of such a term and substituted the term *ustad* instead. [21]

"It was against the levying of illegal cesses by landlords that Dudhu Mian made his most determined stand. That a Muhammadan ryot should be obliged to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Durga or towards the support of any of the idolatrous rites of his Hindu landlord, were intolerable acts of oppression......he advanced a step further when he proclaimed that the earth is God's and that no one has a right to occupy it as an inheritance, or levy taxes upon it. The peasantry

19. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 248-250.
For puttee, chuttee etc. *see* Jafar Sharif, op. cit., ch. II.

20. In his attempt to link up the two movements—the Fara'idi and the one led by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid—O'leary (*see*, Islam at the cross roads, p. 43) erroneously calls Dudhu Miyan the son and successor of Sayid Ahmad Shahid Barelwi.

21. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIII, op. cit., p. 50.

were therefore persuaded to settle on Khas mahal lands, managed directly by the Government, and thus escape the payment of any taxes, but that of the land revenue, claimed by the state"[22]. Dudhu Mian laid great importance and stress on the complete equality among the members of the movement, and taught that the welfare of the lowest and the poorest was as much an object of interest as that of the highest and richest. When a brother was in distress it was the duty of his neighbours to assist him and nothing, it was affirmed, was unjustifiable which had this object in view.[23] The zamindars and the landlords were naturally perturbed at the spread of these uncomfortable doctrines which ran counter to their vested interests. They sternly warned their men and tenants against joining the reformers and tortured and punished any recalcitrant ryots who dared disobey their warning. Coercion, however, failed and it only added to the zeal and determination of the ryots who, in the teachings of Dudhu Mian saw a new light of hope. Besides, just as the zamindars endeavoured to prevent the tenants from joining the Fara'idis, so did Dudhu Mian often compelled the poor ryots to join his movement and on refusal caused them to be beaten and their crops to be destroyed. So formidable did he become that he could administer summary justice and punish any Hindu or Fara'idi or non-Fara'idi Muslim who dared to bring a suit in a regular court instead of referring the case to his decision [24] The zamindars and the Indigo planters were not sitting idle all the time and after many an unsuccessful attempt from the year 1838 onwards, they did, at last, succeed in getting him confined in the Alipur Jail as a state prisoner. [25] And with this confinement ends the creative and active period of the Fara'idi movement. Pir Badshah Miyan, Dudhu Miyan's grandson, is now a full fledged *pir* in the truest sense of the term.

22. J.A.S B. LXIII, op cit., p. 51.
23. S.R.B G. op. cit., p. 41, J.A S B, vol LXIII, op cit., p. 50, Nasim al-haramayn. op. cit., 1: 160-161, E. I. vol. II, p. 58.
24. Karamat 'Ali: Hujjat-i-qatia, pp 9-10, II, 50. 66 and 78; J A S.B. LXIII op. cit., p. 50.
25. J.A.S.B., vol. LXIII, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

The non-availability of the *Tarīqat-i-aḥkam*, the only book which the Fara'idis are reported to have written on their beliefs and practices, has left us with no other alternative but to depend, in presenting the following account of their doctrines, mainly on the two works of their arch enemy,[26] Maulana Karamat Ali-Nasim al-haramayn and Hujjat-i-qaṭi'a. In the Hujjat, Karamat 'Ali never refers to them as Fara'idis but throughout the book calls them either 'The Kharijites of Bengal' or simply 'The Kharijites'.[27] Maulana Karamat 'Ali' does not consider them members of the *ahl al sunnat wa'l-jamaat* and charges them with making various changes in the *shari'at* and with constituting a *shari'at* of their own. The author claims that he met Ḥaji Shari'atullah in the mosque of Gol Patta in Calcutta in the year 1252 A.H. (1836-37 A.D.), that later, at the residence of Qaḍi Shafi'al-Din, he met his son Dudhu Mian and that both the father and the son, in order to avoid further meeting with Karamat 'Ali' fled from before him. It is further claimed that 'Abd al-Jabbar, one of the Fara'idi *khalifas* after disregarding many an appointment at Jhalokathi, Madaripur and Bayazidpur, did eventually meet Karamat 'Ali' at Barisal on the 8th Safar, 1282 A H. when at a conference he is alleged to have been exposed by our author.[28]

The subjects reported to have been discussed at this conference is very significant for our purpose for they help us to forming an idea of the Fara'idi doctrines. The points discussed are claimed to have been,

Here are the main points of the Fara'idi doctrines, —

(*a*) They did not say the funeral prayer on a *benamazi*.[29]

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26. Seeing that he declared and actively carried on an uncompromising war against the Fara'idis (see, Nasim, op. cit., 1. 25-26 & 29.30; Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 8-9 and 40-49) and published in 1866 his Hujjat in their refutation, it is impossible to accept Tritton's statement (see, Islam etc.. op. cit., p. 160) that Karamat 'Ali' joined the Fara'idis in 1855.

27. Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 3,7,8,9,21,23,26,28,37 and 38.

28. See, Ibid, p. 21.

29. Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 7, 18-19 and 21-25.

(*b*) They were the followers of the Ḥanafite school of Muslim Jurisprudence but they reportedly regarded *fiqah* as "a pair of spectacles for (the use of) only the ignorants". [30]

(*c*) The Fara'idis did not, it appears, regard with favour the time honoured practice of *piri-muridi.* Shari'atullah ordered that the title of *ustad* and *shagird*, terms which did not suggest complete submission, should be used in place of *pir* and *murid.* He also prohibited the laying on of hands, which was customary at the initiation of a disciple, but required from all a *taubah*, repentance. [31] It is however difficult to determine, from available sources, the exact Fara'idi stand *vis-a-vis* sufism, or to ascertain the real motive that led them to treat *bay'at* with marked contempt.

(*d*) The Fara'idis, it appears, regarded British occupied India a *dar ul-harb*, and did not favour the English rule in India but we have not come across any evidence to show that they ever preached a *jihad.* The solitary reference—made in the latter of the Joint Magistrate of Faridpur, dated the 27th June 1857—to their uniting with the 'Hindustanis', for creating disturbances in the district was, admittedly, based on rumours. [32] The Fara'idis did not, however, said the Jum'a or the *'idayn* prayers, and accepted the first definition of *al-misr al-jami'* given in the Hidayat. [33]

In their zeal to reform society, the Fara'idis not, unlike most other reformers, laid unnecessary importance on certain minor practices and thus, themselves, became the victims of innovations which they so eagerly sought to do away with. Two such peculiarities assumed considerable importance in their teachings.

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30. Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

31. Ibid. p. 50; Nasim, op. cit. 1; 104-65; Taylor, op. cit., P. 248, note, J.A.S.B. LXIII, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

32. See, S.R B.G. XLII, op. cit., p. 41.

33. See, Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 43-48; Nasim op. cit., 1: 105; J.A.S B., LXIII op. cit., p. 48. Compare, Hidayat ed, A.H. Khayrabadi (Lucknow) vol. I pp. 257-58.

(*i*) It was thought in some part of lower Bengal that in no eventuality must any one, except the midwives, cut the navel-cord of a new-born babe. The Fara'idis, allegedly, turned the table other way round and declared it *wajib* on the father to cut the navel-cord of his new born

(*ii*) They regarded grasshoppers, like locusts, as *halal*, and according to a statement by Maulana Karamat 'Ali, considered taking of them "a sign of Islam". [34]

Generally regarded as the senior of the two the Fara'idi movement cannot be thought to have originated from or been influenced by the Reformist movement led by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid Barelwi, popularly known as the Wahhabi movement in India. There is no historical evidence either that any Reformist leader did, at any time, come into contact with Haji Shari'atullah. Directed as it was by the *ustad*, the Fara'idi movement as a local movement and was confined to the economically poor and socially backward Muslim peasants and artisans of a few districts in lower Bengal. But the Reformist movement headed by the *amir-al-mu'minin*, was a countrywide movement and claimed followers in every stratum of the Muslim community throughout India including the very region where the other movement had already established itself. [35] The Reformist movement was primarily an intellectual movement, and gave significant impetus to religious publications in Urdu, Persian and Arabic, [36] but the Fara'idi, movement, with only one Bengali tract to its credit, fared very badly indeed in the domain of intellectual contribution. The Reformists were seriously and intimately concerned with the renovation of *tasawwuf* and the establishment of *imamat*,[37] but the Fara'idis, so far as our information goes, were indifferent to the former and uninterested in the latter. Although they, allegdly, characterised fiqah as a pair of spectacles for the use of the

34 See, E.I, op. cit, p. 57; Hujjat, op. cit., pp. 44-45; Nasim, op cit., 1: 190-193

35. Boards Collections (India Office, London, Records), vol. 1301, Coll. 54222, p 402.; Calcutta Review, vol, L, p. 73. Taylor, op. cit., p. 249; Ja'far Thanisari: Swanih-i-Ahmadi, pp. 14-15, 53, 54, 137 and 139.

36. See, Javual Asiatique. 1838, pp. 333-334.

37. See, Sawanih, op. cit., pp. 61-62; Br. M.Ms. OR. 6635, vol, 72.

deficient only, their uninterrupted adherence to the Ḥanafite school render it extremely doubtful whether the Fara'idis did, actually, profess any such doctrine as the Reformist view of *ittiba'-i-sunna*. The Reformists, too, regarded India as a *dar-al-harb* [38] but, nevertheless, in contrast to the Fara'idis, they considered the *ju'ma* and the *'idayn* prayers *wajib* on the Indian Muslims also. [39] Thus evidently these were two separate movements with distinct organisations and principles of their own. We would now try to investigate if and how far the Fara'idi movement might have been influenced by the Wahhabis of Arabia.

Shari'atullah's reported long stay in Makka at the beginning of the thirteenth century of the hijra did not necessarily indicate that he had any contacts with the Wahhabis. Moreover, as a pupil of the Makkan divines who had already denounced the Wahhabis as 'heretics', Shari'atullah would, generally, be least expected to have consciously accepted 'heretical' doctrine of the Wahhabis. Yet there might be a possibility that he was indirectly influenced by a movement which coincidently to his stay in Makka was creating a religious and political upheaval in the Arabian peninsula. As this possible Wahhabi influence was sure to have been reflected in Shari'atullah's teachings we would here examine the Fara'idi doctrines as against those of the Wahhabis.

It was in their contempt for certain commonly held religious beliefs and practices of the contemporary Muslim society that the Fara'idis closely resembled the Wahhabis. As had been the case with the early Wahhabis the peculiarities of the Fara'idis also, led them to differences and altercations with the Majority Muslims. But there is no evidence that in showing their pious contempt they ever resorted to violence. It is significant that although he refers [40] to a long list of offences treated by the Fara'idis as *kaba'ir* Karamat 'Ali' does not mention any such corresponding list by them of *shirk* nor does he accuse them of violently imposing their doctrines on others.

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38 Sawanih, op cit., pp 198-99 ; Sirat Mustaqim, op cit., pp. 317-23.

39. See, Sawanih, op cit., pp. 237-38; Mudih al-haqq, ed. Muhammad Abdul Hayy and Shah Muhammad Isma l, pp 35-37.

40 Nasim, op. cit., pp . 166-173.

They were opposed to raised tombs but none of our sources refer to any incident in which the Fara'idis were involved in the demolition of tombs or mausoleums. They did not say the *janaza* prayer on a *be-namazi*, but this principle of their was more passive and less violent than the Wahhabi doctrine concerning a *tarik-al-salat*.[41] The English rule in Bengal might have exercised a moderating influence on the formulation and application of the Fara'idi doctrines. The Fara'idis having, unlike the Wahhabis, no government of their own might have felt obliged to pursue a more accommodating policy than that of the Wahhabis toward their back-sliding co-religionists. But the fact remains that in contrast to their audacious agrarian policy and violent insistence on every ryot's joining them, they, in sharp contrast with the Wahhabis, never attempted to assert their right to fight the 'apostate' Muslims. We notice, moreover, that while the worst Wahhabi intolerence was displayed toward saint-worship, the most determined Fara'idi stand was made against oppressive treatment by landlords; Hindu, Muslim and European alike The organisation of the Fara'idis, especially under Dudhu Mian was thus rather of the type of a guild for safe-guarding various rights of the ryots than in the nature of a common religious movement with missionary programme and outlook.

41. For the Wahhabi doctrine on this point see, Rawdat al-afkar wa'l-afham etc. (Br. Museum MS. 23,344-45), vol. II, fol. 112; Al-hadiyat al-sunniyat wa'l-tuhfat al-Najdiyat, ed. Sulayman b. Sahman, pp.65-67.

Circumstances that led to the Independence of Bengal (1338 A. D.)

Professor Abdul Karim

Muḥammad bin Tughluq turned his attention to the administration of the ever refractory Province of Bengal soon after his accession to the throne in 1328 A. D. He divided Bengal into three administrative units—Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon and appointed Governors for each of them. Malik Pindar Khalji who was honoured with the title Qadr Khān was appointed Governor of Lakhnauti, 'Izzuddin Yaḥya styled 'Azam-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of *Satgaon*[1] and Tatar Khan, styled Bahram Khan was appointed Governor of Sonargaon along with Ghayasuddin Bahadur, who was captured by Sulṭan Ghayasuddin Tughluq and liberated by Muhd. Tughluq, his son.

Inspite of this administrative arrangement, Bengal did not long remain in peace. The Sultan of Delhi, because of his preoccupations in other directions, could not keep a watchful eye to his easternmost province and gradually Bengal went out of Imperial grip and finally became independent in 1338 A. D. This article is an attempt to throw light on some of the obscure points of the circumstances that led to the independence of Bengal, which recently published in History of Bengal Vol. II did not touch upon. Ibn

1. Satgaon was the name of an ancient port of Bengal at the junction of the rivers Hughli and Saraswati. With the silting up of the river Saraswati, Satgaon lost its prominence as port. It is now a petty village. The Governorship of Satgaon roughly correspondent to south Bengal and that of Lakhnauti and Sonargaon. West Bengal and East Bengal respectively.

Batuta, one of the most contemporary authorities of the period differs from other authorities regarding the name of Bahram Khan, the co-adjutant of Ghayasuddin Bahadur in the administration of Sonargaon and also regarding his relationship to the Sultan of Delhi. An attempt has been made to reconcile this difference. The respective position of Bahram Khan and Ghayasuddin Bahadur in the administration of Sonargaon, date of Bahadur's declaration of independence, the struggle between Fakhruddin on the one hand and Qadr Khan and his party including 'Izzuddin Yahya on the other, the place where the battle was fought are points that have been discussed here. No scholar has yet tried to solve the problems regarding the fate of 'Izzuddin Yahya, Governor of Satgaon, of whom nothing is known, after he joined Qadr Khan against Fakhruddin, and regarding the sudden rise of Haji Ilyas in the political arena of Bengal. Attempt has been made, in this article, to solve these two problems with the help of two hitherto un-utilised materials. The first is the only discovered inscription of Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah and the second is Insha-i-Mahru. Though the former has been published in Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica 1939-40 and the latter in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1923, curiously enough they have not been utilised by the author in the latest publication of the subject *i. e.*, History of Bengal Vol. II.

Ibn Batuta gives us the following valuable information [2] regarding Md. Tughluq's relation with Ghayasuddin Bahadur.

ولماولی السلطان الملک بعد ابیه وبایعه الناس احضر السلطان غیاث‌الدین
بهادر بوره الذی کان اسره السلطان تغلق فمن علیه وفک قیوده واجنل له
العطاء من الا موال والخیل والضیله" وسرفه الی مملکته بعث معه ابن اخیه
ابراهیم خان وعاهد علی ان یکون تلک المملکته مشاطرة ·بینهما وتکتب
اسماؤهما معاً فی السکه" و یخطب لهما وعلی ان یصرف غیاث‌الدین ابنه محمد
المعروف ببرباطیکون رهینه عبدالسلطان فانصرف غیاث‌الدین الی مملکته
والتزم ماشرط علیه الا انه لم یبعث ابنه وادعی انه امتنع واساء الادب فی
کلا مه فبعث السلطان العسا کرالی ابن اخیه ابراهیم خان امیرهم دلبجی
التتری فقاتلوغیاث‌الدین فقتلوه وسلخو جلده وحشی بالتبن وطیف به علی البلاد-

2. Ibn Batuta. Travels. Def & Sang edition, Page 316.317.

"When the Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq) inherited the empire after his father's death, and the people took the oath of allegiance to him, he summoned Ghayasuddin Bahadur Burah, whom Sultan Tughluq had captured. He pardoned him and removed his fetters and gave him many gift of money, horses, elephants and sent him back to his kingdom (Bengal). He sent with him his brother's son Ibrahim Khan and the agreement was that they should share the kingdom equally and that their names should be written together on the coinage and that the *Khutba* should be read in their common name and that Ghayasuddin should send his son Muhammad surnamed Barbat to the Sultan as a hostage. Then Ghayasuddin returned to his kingdom and fulfilled what he agreed to do except that he did not send his son and pretended that the latter was unwilling (to go) and he was impolite in his correspondence. This did not satisfy the Emperor. He sent his armies to his brother's son Ibrahim Khan under Dulji-at-Tatari. They fought against Ghayasuddin and slew him and stripped off his skin. The skin was then filled with straw and sent round the provinces".

In the above paragraph Ibn Batūta gives us a clear view of the relation between Muhammad bin Tughluq and Ghayasuddin Bahadur. But as regards the details, other contemporary authorities differ from him.

We have the following from Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi by Barni. [3]

وتاتار خان که پسر خوانده سلطان تغلقشاه بود واقطاع ظفراباد داشت باامراء لشکر پیشتر نامزد شد وان دیارا تمامی ضبط کرد وسلطان بهادر شه ضابط سنارگانو راکه دمانا ولاغیری می زد رشته درگردن اوانداخته بخدمت سلطان اورد

"Tatar Khan was the adopted son of the Sultan (Ghayasuddin Tughluq). He held the *iqta'* of Zafarabad. He was appointed with nobles and soldiers previously and he brought the whole country under the Imperial rule. Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Sonargaon made some resistance; but a cord was thrown upon his neck, and he was conducted to the Sultan"

3. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Zia Barni, page 451.

Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, Badaūni and Farishta are also of the same opinion. [4] Ziauddin Barni [5] further writes, ستگانو وسنار گانو ضبط شد........ ....,

"and Satgaon and Sonargaon were kept under his (Ghayasuddin Tughluq) possession". If he possessed these two iqtas, naturally, he had to make arrangement for administration. So it seems probable that Ghayasuddin Tughluq appointed Tatar Khan Governor of the conquered territory. Muhammad bin Tughluq after his accession offered the title of Bahram Khan to Tatar Khan and again sent him to Bengal with Ghayasuddin Bahadur.

Blochmann and H. E. Stapleton suggest two different ways to reconcile the information of these sources with that of Ibn Batuta. [6] The former is of the opinion that Ibrahim Khan is a mistake for Bahram Khan. The latter says that some copyist might have inserted the word اخيه in the manuscript before ابن But it is not possible that the copyist should commit a great mistake twice in the same paragraph and within a small number of lines as we find it here in this case. It may rather be possible in the case of one quite or point and that is perhaps the actual position here. It may be that ابن اخيه is a mistake for ابن بيه where the point was to be put below has been put upwards which means father's son adopted or foster.

The difficult problem here is to ascertain the respective position of Bahram Khan and Bahadur Shah, the two rulers of Sonargaon. Unfortunately History of Bengal Vol. II does not throw any light on the point. According to H. E. Stapleton [7] Bahram Khan's position was "that of an Imperial High Commissioner in Bengal to keep a watchful eye on behalf of the Delhi Sultan over the proceedings

4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* page. 213; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, page 224; *Tarikh-i-Farishta* page 132.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* by Zia Barni, page 451;

6. Boolchmann in *JASB* 1874, page 290; H. E. Stapleton in *JASB* 1922, page 422.

7. H. E. Stapleton in JASB 1922, page 423.

of the now feudatory Balbani Kings." But Ibn Batuta's version,[8] ان يكون تلک المملكته مشاطرة بيتهما does not imply that Bahram Khan was an Imperial High Commissioner. The expression means that both Muhammad bin Tughluq and Ghayasuddin Bahadur would share the kingdom equally. Muhammad bin Tughluq did not come to Bengal personally. He sent his representative Bahram Khan to administer the Province on his behalf. His position was neither that of an Imperial High Commissioner, nor that of a resident, but that of a Governor. Here Muhammad bin Tughluq's policy seems to be of a dubious nature. He sent his own man Bahram Khan to keep a watchful eye on Ghayasuddin and on the other hand he reinstated Ghayasuddin to keep a similar watch on his own man, Bahram Khan. As for the reading of *Khutbah* and writing names on coins, it is quite clear. *Khutbah* was to be read in the name of both Muhammad bin Tughluq and Ghayasuddin and both their names were to be written in the coins. Coins[9] of this type have been found.

It is very difficult to ascertain the date of Bahadur's declaration of independence and his final destruction. The History of Bengal Vol. II is silent on the point. The only source that can help us in this respect is the coin. Thomas ascertains the date of Bahadur's declaration of independence as 730[10] A.H. H.E. Stapleton[11] puts this date to either the later part of 728 A. H. or the beginning of 729 A. H. His argument is based on five coins of Ghayasuddin Bahadur in the Indian Museum cabinet struck from Sonargaon bearing the date 728[12] A. H. He does[13] not agree with Thomas in reading the date 730 A. H. on coin No. 2/10 which Thomas recorded from one of Col. Guthirin's coin of the Kuch Behar find.

8. Ibn Batuta: *Travells* Def and Sang Ed. page 317.
9. Supplement to the I. M. C. Vol. 11, page 41.
10. Thomas in *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, page 200.
11. H. E. Stapleton in *JASB* 1922, page 426
12. *Ibid*, page 424.
13. *Ibid*, page 461.

He is inclined to read the date as 722 A. H. Lane-Poole [14] again refers to another coin of 730 A. H. in the British Museum.

If the reading of 730 A. H. in the British Museum coin is correct, we may safely accept that Bahadur's independence and final destruction took place between 728 & 730 A. H. The credit however, goes to Mr, H.E. Stapleton [15] for identifying Ghiaspur, the place from which Ghayasuddin issued coins, with Inayetpur in the district of Mymensingh. "Inayetpur lies on raised land about 15 miles south-west of the present town of Mymensingh, on the upper reaches of the Banar River that drains the centre of Madhupur Jungle into the Lakhya, and as a *mouza* on the river bank near 'Inayetpur is still known as Ghiaspur it seems probable that this was the site of the mint that Ghayasuddin names after himself'.

In 739 A. H. (1338 A. D.) Bahram Khan died. [16] "Malik Fakhruddin, the armour bearer of the deceased, became rebellious and assumed the insignia of royalty under the designation of Sultan Fakhruddin [17]

Ghulam Husain Salim and Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi [18] refer Fakhruddin as the silahdar or arm- bearer of Qadr Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti. The most contemporary historian Ziauddin Barni does not mention as to who was the master of Fakhruddin. [19] He simply says, بعد نقل بهرام خان در دیار بنگاله فتنهٔ فخرا خاست after the death of Bahram Khan, the rebellion of Fakhra in Bengal broke out. "But as he mentions the rebellion of Fakhra just after the death of Bahram Khan we are justified in concluding the Fakhruddin rose in rebellion at the place where Bahram was posted and probably he was under his employ. This conclusion is also supported by Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi. [20] R. D.

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14. Lane Poole in *Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum* Introduction, page XI.
15. H. E. Stapleton in *JASB* 1922, page 417.
16. *Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi* tr. in English by K. K. Basu, pages 99—100.
17. Ibid, page 100.
18. Riaj-us-Salatin translated by Abdus Salam page 94; *Tabaqat-i Akbari* tr. by Baini Prasad, page 414.
19. Barni: *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*- B.I- series, page 480. بعد نقل بهرام خان در دیار بنگاله فتنهٔ فخرا خاست
20. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi tr. by K. K. Basu, page 100

Banerjee[21] puts forth the following judicious arguments in favour of this view :—

(1) All the coins of Fakhruddin, as has hitherto been discovered, bear the mint name of Sonargaon.

(2) All the coins of 'Alauddin Ali Shah bear the mint name of Firuzabad.

Had Fakhruddin been the *silahdar* of Qadr Khan and had he taken possession of Lakhnauti earlier, any of his coin with the mint name of Lakhnauti would have been found.

For events after this till the assassination of Qadr Khan it is better to quote Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi[22] who is supported by other authorities like Badaūni and Farishta[23] :—

"Malik Pindar Khalji Qadr Khan, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Malik Hisamuddin Abu Raja, the Mustaufi Malik, Azam-i-Mulk Aziz-ud-Din Yahya, the fiefholder of Satgaon and Firuz Khan the son of Nusrat Khan and the *amir* of Karah marched to Sonargaon against the rebel. The latter also come out with his men to meat them, and in the contest which followed, Fakhruddin being worsted took to his heels. The elephants and horses of the fugitive were taken possession of; Qadr Khan remained at that place while the other Amirs returned to their respective fiefs.

"When the rainy season drew in, most of the horses in the army of Qadr Khan died. He had collected a vast amount of silver species, and had, after two or three months, stored them up in heaps, in his own house saying that, in like manner would he stock the silver before the presence of His Majesty, so that the more the silver was stocked the more would it be serviceable to the Sultan. Malik Hisamuddin advised him thus, 'it is detrimental to amass a huge wealth in the remote *iqtas*, for the people would

21. R D. Banerjee in *Banglar Itihasha Vol. II*, pages 101—102

22. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* tr. by K. K. Basu, pages 106—7.

23. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Abdul Qadir Badaoni tr. by Ranking, page 398;

covet it and would be suspicious as to why the money is not being sent to the emperor. Whatever wealth and cash have been collected, should be despatched to the treasury; nothing could be better than this'. Qadr Khan paid little attention to him, and neither did he give to the soldiery their due, nor did he send the wealth to the treasury. The soldiers coveted the wealth, and no sooner had Fakhruddin arrived, than Qadr's men sided with him (Fakhruddin) and assassinated the latter".

The above account is sufficiently clear and contains no ambiguity. But unfortunately neither Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sarhindi nor any other contemporary authority has identified the place in which the battle between Fakhruddin and his opponents took place. Later scholars are also completely silent on the point. Even the History of Bengal does not throw any light. In this connection the following points derived from the above passage deserve minute consideration :—

(1) When Fakhruddin declared independence, Qadr Khan and his party marched towards Sonargaon.

(2) After the defeat of Fakhruddin, Qadr Khan remained at that place which means capital city of Fakhruddin (Sonargaon).

(3) Fakhruddin, during the rainy season came out of his refuge and recaptured his capital after Qadr Khan was killed.

Qadr Khan and his party must have marched towards Sonargoan to crush Fakhruddin just after they heard of his declaration of independence. Naturally the intervening period could not have been a long one and Fakhruddin could not, by that time, strengthen his position sufficiently to enable him to come out of his capital city to oppose his formidable opponents. The place was also navigable during the rainy season from the refuge of Fakhruddin. Judging these points it may be concluded that the battle took place in or within the vicinity of the capital of Fakhruddin *i.e.*, Sonargaon. In this connection we may accept the view of H.E. Stapleton [24] that

24. H.E. Stapleton in *JASB* 1910, p. 147

he (Fakhruddin) took refuge in Mubarakabad in the district of Dacca. According to him "there is strong likelihood of Fakhruddin, having retreated from Qadr Khan into the Lakhya River, from which there was an easy access to the maze of waterways round Dacca by means of the Tongi and Turag Rivers or the Dulaigonj creek, and his success is also not unlikely to have been commemorated by calling his place of refuge after his own name".

Fakhruddin made Sonargaon his seat of Government. He put Mukhlis, one of his slaves in charge of Lakhnauti. [25] Ali Mubarak, who was the Inspector of troops under Qadr Khan put Mukhlis to death and himself took possession of Lakhnauti. [26]

Both Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sarhindi and Abdul Qadir Badaūni [72] agree that Ali Mubarak wrote to the Emperor to send a Governor to Lakhnauti, though Badaūni thinks it to be only a diplomatic letter while he himself aspired for independence.

Whatever might have been the motive of Ali Mubarak, the result was that no Imperial Governor came to Bengal. The Sultan appointed Malik Yusuf, Governor of the City of Delhi to the Governorship of Lakhnauti, but Malik Yusuf died before he joined the office, and the Sultan paid no further heed to the affairs of Bengal Ali Mubarak ultimately assumed the insignia of royalty and styled himself Sultan Alauddin. [28]

Now we find that two of the three Imperial Governors in Bengal, Bahram Khan of Sonargaon and Qadr Khan of Lakhnauti, were somehow or other removed from the scene, and two of their officers in turn, Fakhruddin and Ali Mubarak, were struggling for the supremacy in Bengal. Bahram Khan died a natural death, the second, Qadr Khan was assassinated with the complicity of Fakhruddin. What the fate of the

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25. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, tr. by K.K. Basu, p. 107. As we have already concluded that Fakhruddin was in the service of Bahram Khan, here also we reject Gulam Husain Salim's version that Fakhruddin took his seat at Lakhnauti and send Mukhlis for the subjugation of the out-lying provinces of Bengal.

26. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, tr. by K.K. Basu, p. 107.

27. *Ibid*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Badaoni, p. 308.

28. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* tr. by K.K. Basu, p. 107.

third i.e. Izzuddin Yahya is very difficult to ascertain with the help of the contemporary or the later historians. History of Bengal Vol. II is also silent on the point. Mr. S. Ahmad,[29] on the authority of Blochmann and Thomas is of opinion that Izzuddin Yahya died in the year 740 A.H. when Haji Ilyas, who, "arrived first in the southern part of west Bengal, arrogated to himself the royal authority and assumed the title Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Ilyas Shah".

But this view cannot be at once, accepted, as in no page of the authorities suggested by him, do we find a statement like this. Complete silence of the contemporary historians regarding the fate of Izzuddin Yahya tends us to believe that he did not return from the encounter that took place at Sonargaon. He either fell in the battle field or met the fate of his co-adjutant Qadr Khan. This is, perhaps, what is suggested by Ziauddin Barni[30] when he says,

بعد نقل بهرام خان در دیار بنگاله فتنه فخرا خاست - وفخرا ولشکر
بنگاله باغی شد وقدر خان رابکشتند وزن وبچه وفیل وتیغ اورا تار تار
کردند وخزاین لکهنوتی غارت شد ولکهنوتی وستگانو وسنارگانو
از دست برفت۔

"After the death of Bahram Khan the Fakhra trouble arose in Bengal. Fakhra and the Bengal troops rebelled in Bengal and Qadr Khan was killed and his women, children, elephants and swords were cut to pieces and the treasure of Lakhnauti was pillaged and Lakhnauti Satgaon and Sonargaon passed out of hands".

Ziauddin Barni never came to Bengal. He wrote his book from whatever sources he could gather from Dehli. Ater the rebellion of Fakhruddin, the Imperial forces did not come to recover the imperial position. So It was not possible for Barni to have a clear view of the events there. He might have heared that Qadr Khan was killed by Fakhruddin who took possession of Lakhnauti. So he does not say clearly, in whose hands did the sovereignty of Lakhnauti,

29. Mr. S. Ahmad in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1939-40, p. 8.

30. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Ziauddin Barni B.I. series. p. 408.
See the text بعد لقل بهرام خان etc. above.

Satgaon and Sonargaon passed. Neither, he could say anything about the fate of Izzuddin Yahya. He simply takes recourse to an ambiguous term and says, "Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon passed out of hands".

The most baffling question here is the sudden rise of Haji Ilyas in the politics of Bengal. History of Bengal Vol. 11 is of the opinion that Haji Ilyas carved out an independent kingdom in South Bengal. But the opinion seems to be misleading as it has no proof and without references to any authority. Both Barni and Isami are completely silent about him. Yahya bin Ahmad [31] makes Haji Ilyas a man with a big following, who "having joined with the Amirs, Maliks and the people of Lakhnauti put Alauddin to death, and ascended the throne under the designation of Sultan Shamsud-din. "Badaoni, [32] Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, and Ghulam Hussain [32] Salim give Haji Ilyas the position of a rival of Ali Mubarak for the throne of Lakhnauti.

Thomas [33] also holds the same opinion when he says, "Medallic testimony would seem to indicate a long wage of hostilities between the real Ali Shah and Haji Ilyas before the latter attained his final triumph; for although Ilyas seems to have coined money in Firuzabad in 740 A.H. the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 A.H. his adversary Ali Shah is found in full possession of the mint in question". N.K. Bhattasali [34] rejects categorically the view that there were any waging of hostilities between Ilyas and Ali Mubarak for the sovereignty of Lakhnauti. He also rejects [35] the

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31. Yahya bin Ahmad *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* tr. by K. K. Basu, p. 107.
32. Badaoni in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* tr. by Ranking p. 308.
    Bakhshi in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tr. by Baini Prasad. p. 421.
    Ghulam Husain Salım in *Riaz-us-Salatin* tr. by Abdus Salam p. 98.
33. Thomas in *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 267.
34. N. K. Bhattasali in *Coins and Chronology of the early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 22.
35. *Ibid*, p. 23. He writes. "The date of 740 A.H. read on the coin of Ilyas Shah could have been summarily rejected as impossible and therefore in correctly read; for even Ali Shah had not risen to power at that time and Qadr Khan still held supremacy. But fortunately I can adduce strong proofs than mere arguments having had opportunities of personally examining coin No. 2/42 of the Shilling Cabinet which has been read as bearing the date of 740 H. Thomas, I suspect, must have been misled by a similar coin. The reading of the date of this coin is indeed a difficult task and it is not to be wondered

(Continued on page 220)

date 740 A.H. read on a coin by Thomas. But Lane Poole [36] also in his British Museum Catalogue refers to a coin of Haji Ilyas bearing the date 740 A. H. If this reading of coin in the British Museum is correct, we may accept the view of Thomas that there was a long drawn of hostility between Ali Mubarak and Haji Ilyas. and naturally, for this waging of hostility against Ali Mubarak, Haji Ilyas must have some independent *hold somewhere in Bengal*.

Having regard to the numismatic evidence, it seems un-reasonable to believe Riaz-us-Salatin [37] that Haji Ilyas was first appointed by Ali Mubarak in his army, he gained over the army to his side and assassinated his own master. Badauni [38] calls Haji Ilyas "a man of family and retinue", the real significance of which is not clear.

We hear nothing of Izzuddin Yahya after he accompained Qadr Khan to Sonargaon. Mr. S. Ahmad [39] suggests that the inscription of Ilyas Shah of the year 743 A.H. belonged to South Bengal. If it is correct, we may reasonably conclude that Haji Ilyas first appeared in South Bengal, where finding the seat of Satgaon vacant (due to the murder of Izzuddin Yahya, as we have elsewhere suggested) he occupied the same and gradually carved out an independent kingdom for himself.

An indirect reference may also be found in the "Letters of Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru", [40] which contain one proclamation of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. The proclamation goes,

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(Continued from page 219)

that the Editors of the Shilling supplemental Catalogue, and Thomas in an earlier age—perhaps on a similar coin—read the date as 740 H. For, on first sight, the date looks nothing else than 740 H. It is only on very close examination that discripencies present themselves which makes the reading of 740 H. untenable. It the date were 740, it would have been written :-

سنة اربعن وسبع مائة

But the date is actually written :— سنة اربع خمسين وسبعمائة

36. *Lane Poole in Catalogue of Indian Coins in Muhammadan States in* British Museum. Introduction, p. XII.

37. *Riaz-us-Salatin* tr. by Abdus Salam, p. 98

38. Badaoni in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh tr.* by Ranking, p. 308-9.

39. Mr S. Ahmad, in *Epigraphi-Indo-Moslemica 1939-40*, p. 7-8.

40. *J.A.S B. 1923, p.* 279.

"And as Ilyas Haji, during the life time of his late Majesty was obedient and loyal to the throne ; and even during our auspicious coronation he confessed his submission and fealty, as becomes a subordinate, sending petitions and waiters to attend upon us, so, if heretofore, it were brought to our august notice an infinitesimal part of the oppression and highhandedness, that he had been committing, On God's creatures, we might have admonished him so that he might have desisted therefrom".

The proclamation is to be read very carefully. Here the Delhi Sultan tries to justify his expedition against another Muslim ruler, so it is quite possible that his statement may not be always true. Moreover, in some respect the proclamation does not corroborate other authorities.

Firuz Shah claims that Haji Ilyas was obedient to his late Master Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was also obedient during the time of the coronation of Firuz. This implies that Haji Ilyas, immediately after his possession of the seat of Satgaon, did not declare independence. He owed allegiance or feigned allegiance to Delhi. Any way the allegiance of Haji Ilyas did not last long, as from 740 A.H. (during the lifetime of Muhammad bin Tughluq) we find an independent coinage of Ilyas Shah. The claim of Firuz that Haji Ilyas was obedient to Delhi duriug the time of his coronation, is not at all true. Numismatic evidence does not support this, as we find independent coinage of Haji Ilyas from 740 A.H.

In this connection the identification of (سدکاوان) Sudkawan of Ibn Batuta is also necessary. Some Scholars identify Sudkawan with Satgaon. Dr. Bhattasali [41] has refuted this view in a very scholarly way and has accepted the identification of Chatgaon (Chittagong). The discovery of the inscription of Ilyas Shah of the year 743 A.H. has thrown much light on the point. If the inscription belongs to South Bengal as is suggested by Mr. S. Ahmad, [42] we may conclude that South Bengal was in the hands of Ilyas Shah

41. Bhattasali in *Coins and Chronology of Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 185.

42 S Ahmad in *Epigraphiu Indo-Moslemica*, p. 8.

in 743 A.H. We do not know of any vicissitude which might have befallen him before his death, by which he might have withdrawn from South Bengal. So from 743 A.H. till his death South Bengal was in the hands of Ilyas Shah. It could not go to any other's possession in 745-746 A. H. which is the date of Ibn Batuta. So we cannot identify Sudkawan with Satgaon as Ibn Batuta placed Sudkawan in the hands of Fukhruddin (Satgaon was in the hands of Ilyas Shah and not Fakhruddin). On the other hand we know that Chatgaon [43] was occupied by Fakhruddin.

This brings us to a tripartite struggle between Satgaon under Haji Ilyas, Sonargaon under Fakhruddin and Lakhnauti under Ali Mubarak who took possession of the three-Sub-Divisions of Bengal after the death of assassination of the Imperial Governors. From this time onward Bengal remained independent and Sovereign for two hundred years.

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43. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar: *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 122.

A note on Ḥusain Shah's Campaigns and a study of his Character

Professor Abdul Karim

I. Introduction.

Among the Independent Sultans of Bengal, 'Alauddin Ḥusain Shah, was undoubtedly the best. He captured the imagination of his subjects through his broad minded and liberal administration. Both in the art of war and that of peace he was second to none. Not only did he restore the kingdom of Bengal to its old frontier, but extended it on all directions. In the art of peace his reign marks a climax on account of his patronage of Bengali Literature and liberal policy of opening even the highest office to Muslims and non-Muslims alike on the basis of merit. In this article it is not my intention to give an overall picture of the career and character of the Sulṭan or the details of his conquests which have been dealt with by the contributor in the second volume of the History of Bengal, published by the University of Dacca. I shall try to throw some light on a few points which were not noticed by the relevant contributor of the volume, to the extent they deserved plus some sundry things revealed through the study of Vernacular Literature of the period.

II. Orissa Campaign.

Contemporary Bengali literature [1] and later histories refer to Ḥusain Shah's war with Orissa. But unfortunately both Dr. A.B.M. Ḥabibullah in the History of Bengal Vol. II and R.D. Banerjee in his History of Orissa committed in my opinion, a gross mistake by holding the view that Shah Isma'il Ghazi a general of Ḥusain Shah headed his campaign against Orissa. Madala Panji, [2] an Orissan source, quoted by both the scholars gives the name of the general as 'Surasthana.' It is difficult to understand how one can identify 'Suresthana' with Isma'il Ghazi. The word 'Surasthana' may at best be an Orissan corruption of Sulṭan. Moreover Risalat-us-Shuhada, [3] a manuscript discovered by G.H. Damant from Kanta Duar, Rangpur, clearly states that Ismail Ghazi (identified by the scholars as the hero of the campaign), was beheaded by order of Sultan Barbak Shah in 878 A.H. a date about twenty years earlier than the accession of Ḥusain Shah. This manuscript leaves us in no doubt that Isma'il Ghazi could not have become a general under Ḥusain Shah who came to the throne long after his execution. The fact may be that either the Sulṭan himself led his forces in his Orissan campaign or the author of the Madala Panji, because of his ignorance of the name of the general, mentions him as Sulṭan.

But the inscription discovered from Sylhet, now preserved in the Dacca Museum and published by H.E. Stapleton [4] in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1922, clearly states that Rukn Khan, Wazir and general of Ḥusain Shah headed the army in his Orissan campaign.

1. Brindaban Das : Chaitanya Bhagabata, pub. by M.K. Ghose. p. 316.
   Krishna Das Kaviraj : Chaitanya Charitamrita. pub. by Basumati Shahitya Mandir. p. 210.
   Riaz-us-Salatin, tr. by 'Abdus Salam, p. 132.
   Martin : Eastern India, pp. 618-20.
2. R.D. Banerjee : History of Orissa, p.p. 327-28.
   History of Bengal Vol II. pp. 138-144.
3. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870. p. 117.
4. Ibid, 1922. p. 413.

III. Assam campaign.

The first Muslim invasion of Assam recorded in Assam Buranji, was under 'the great wazir.' The date does not fall in Ḥusain Shah's reign but in 1527, a date about 8 years posterior to his death. So E A. Gait[5] in his History of Assam is not inclined to identify Ḥusain Shah with this invasion.

The Assam was invaded and brought under the supremacy of Ḥusain Shah is proved by his own inscriptions and coins.[6] Assam Buranji might have concealed the truth, may be because the result of the battle was not favourable to the Assamese. According to Shihabuddin Talish,[7] Ḥusain Shah invaded Assam with 24,000 infantry and cavalry and numerous ships. *Riaz-us-Salatin*[8] supports this and says that Husain Shah conquered the whole region upto Kamta and Kamrup and collected much wealth from there.

Here also the author in the History of Bengal Vol. II[9] commits the same mistake by accepting that Isma'il Ghazi commanded the Bengal forces against Assam. I have elsewhere in this paper proved that Isma'il Ghazi was executed long before Ḥusain Shah's accession. In the Assam campaign also Rukn Khan headed the Bengal army, a fact sufficiently proved by the inscription mentioned above. (preserved in the Dacca museum).

IV. Tippera campaign.

Srikarna Nandi in his Mahabharata refers to Ḥusain Shah's relation with the kingdom of Tippera.[10] But a detailed description is given in Sri Rajmala (The History of the kings of Tippera).[11] The author in the History of Bengal Vol. II, is of the opinion[12]

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5. E.A. Gait: History of Assam, p. 87.
6. J. A. S. B. 1922, p. 413.
   Catalogue of the provincial coin cabinet, Assam, pp. 166-171.
   Catalogue of the Indian Museum Cabinet of coins. Calcutta, p. 173.
7. J. A. S B. 1872, p. 79.
8. Riaz-us-Salatin, tr Abdus Salam, p. 132.
9. Hitory of Bengal, Vol II, p. 146.
10. D. C. Sen: History of the Bengali Language and Literature, p. 204.
11. Sri Rajmala, edited by K. P. Sen, part II, p. 20.
12. History of Bengal Vol II, p. 148.

that a state of war existed between the two kingdoms even when Ḥusain Shah came to the throne. According to Rajmala [13] the provocation came from the king of Tippera through his invasion of Chittagong. Ḥusain Sháh's pre-occupations in his Orissa and Assam campaigns might have been responsible for this. The author again commits a mistake when he holds the view that Dhanya Manikya invaded Chittagong after the defeat of Bengali general Gaur Mallik. We do not find any reason why we should not accept the version of Rajmala[14] that Ḥusain Shāh was moved to action after Dhanya Manikya provoked him by invading his territory in Chittagong. Gaur Mallik, achieved success at the initial stage, but had to accept defeat in the long run, losing his forces in the river Gomti. But the opinion of Dr. Ḥabibullah that Haitan Khan also met the same fate, cannot be accepted on two grounds. First, he cannot be expected within so short a time, to be so foolish as to follow the same path by which his predecessor Gaur Mallik lost his force. Sri Rajmala[14] clearly states that Haitan Khan caused a tank to be excavated within six hours, as he and his forces did not take the water of the river Gomti for fear of being poisoned by the enemy. This sufficiently proves that Haitan Khan took much precaution. Secondly Sri Rajmala [15] speaks of Dhanya Manikya's appeal to Dakini (a hag) for applying charm upon the forces of Gaur under Haitan Khan. This is a clear manifestation of weakness on the part of the king of Tippera. On these grounds it seems difficult to believe that Haitan Khan was defeated so badly as is claimed by Rajmala and accepted by the contributor in the History of Bengal. [16] Certain facts have got to be carefully noted here. Sri Rajmala does not mention any more expedition of Ḥusain Shāh against Tippera, whereas the inscription of Ḥusain Shāh found at Sonargaon reveals that some portion of Tippera was captured by him, and that Khawas Khan was the ruler of that tract. [17] This success must have been achieved either by Haitan

13. Sri Rajmala, edited by K. P. Sen, Part II, p. 22.
14. *Ibid*, p. 25.
15. Sri Rajmala, p. 26.
16. History of Bengal, Vol II, p. 149.
17. J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 333.

Khan or some other general. Kailash Chandra Sinha and Webster [18] accept the latter view and say that Sri Rajmala does not refer to this last war in Kailargarh as the result was not favourable to Tippera. But considering that no other authentic source refers to this Kailargarh war and that Sri Rajmala refers to Haitan Khan's crossing [19] through that fort, presumably not without resistance and also considering that Sonargaon inscription is dated 918 A. H. (1513 A. D.), close to the date of the expedition of Gaur Mallik and Haitan Khan, it will not be unreasonable to believe that the success was achieved by Haitan Khan and not by a later general.

V. His Character.

Muslim historians are loud in their praise of Sulṭan 'Alauddin Ḥusain Shāh. [20] An adventurer from a far off country like Arabia, [21] reportedly a servant to a Brahman in his early life, [22] it was no mean achievement for him to make way to a throne and prove a successful king. He came to power at a time, when the Future of his kingdom was gloomy, a state of anarchy, lawlessness and usurpation was reigning supreme. The intrigue of the Abyssinian slaves told heavily to the vitality of the kingdom, they murdered the legal successors and usurped the throne themselves. The policy of the new Sulṭan proved too strong and too bold for the usurpers. He ruthlessly suppressed them and they never dared raising their heads again. According to *Riaz*, [23] about 12,000 persons were executed at his orders as they did not stop looting in the city. He could understand that the influence of *Habshi* guards was responsible for mal-administration in the country So

18. K. C. Sinha in Rajmala, Part II, pp. 16-18.
Webster in Tippera Gazetteer, p. 13.
19. Sri Rajmala by K. P. Sen, Part II, p. 25.
20. Ghulam Husain Salim : *Riaz-us-Salatin*, Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi: Tabaqat-i-Akbari.
21. *Riaz-us-Salatin*, tr by Abdus Salam, p. 131.
22. Krishna Das Kabiraj: Chaitanya Charitamrita. (Published by Basumati Shahitya Mandir) p. 304 and p. 334.
23. *Riaz-us-Salatin*, tr, Abdus Salam, p. 132.

he disbanded them [24] and appointed in their place guards faithful to him. From the *Riaz*, [25] we also know that the Sulṭan showed "considerateness to the influential nobles and raised his selected officers to high position and trusty offices."

That he was a consummate general, is proved by his wide conquests. His inscriptions and coins refer to his conquests of Kamtapur, Assam and Orissa [26] as has been narrated earlier. He was a terror to the king of Tippera where he sent successive expeditions, [27] till he occupied a portion of that kingdom, as is evidenced by his own inscription found at Sonargaon. [28] The Arakani King also had to bow his head before him. [29] He was according to de Barros, a vassal of Bengali King.

High-mindedness was another trait of his character. After he became king he did not forget his early life, and he amply rewarded Subuddhi Roy, who is said to have been his former master. [30] According to the *Riaz*, Ḥusain Shāh gave shelter to Sulṭan Ḥusain Sharqi of Jaunpur, [31] who was defeated and pursued by Sulṭan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. How far political motive induced Ḥusain Shāh in giving shelter to his namesake, we cannot say but this is a clear proof of his noble heart.

The most important trait of his character is his tolerant attitude towards the non-Muslims and his respects towards the Vaishnava teacher Chaitanya, which is amply testified to by, Brindaban Das and Krishna Das Kabiraj, two Vaishnava writers. [32] He (the Sulṭan) said, "Let him (Chaitanya) reside wherever he likes and preach according to his own religion. If anybody, be he

24. Riaz-us-Salatin tr, Abbas Salam, p. 132.
25. *Ibid*.
26. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874. p. 303.
27. Brindaban Das, op cit, p. 316.
Krishna Das Kabiraj, op cit, p. 210.
Riaz, p. 132.
28. J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 333.
29. Campos: History of the portuguese in Bengal, p. 28.
30. Krishna Das Kabiraj: Chaitanya Charitamrita, p. 304.
31. Riaz, p. 133.
32. Brindaban Das, op cit, p. 350.
Krishna Das Kabiraj, op cit, pp. 94-96.

Qazi or *Kotwal*, tells him anything, (puts obstacles in his way), I shall take his life."

His administration was so liberal that contemporary Bengali writers, are lavish in their praise of the Sultan.[33] Bijoy Gupta calls him 'Nripati Tilak' (crown of kings), and Jesoraj Khan calls him 'Jagat Bhusana' (adornment of the universe), while Kavinda Parameswar calls him 'Krishna Avatara' of the time, who was the Lord of five Gauras. According to Srikarna Nandi, he ruled his subjects just as Rama of the Ramayana did.

Religion was no bar in gaining office under him. A number of non-Muslims were appointed to the key position in the State, some of them were his principal ministers. Among them the most important are,[34] Mukunda Das, the royal physician, Keshava Chhatri, the chief of the bodyguard, Sanatan, the Saker Malik and Rup, the Dabir Khas (or the Private Secretary). Husain Shah was so much attached to his officers that while once Sanatan, absented himself from his duty, the Sultan first sent his own physician and then personally came to pay him a visit in his house.[35]

He was a patron of poets and literatures. Under the patronage of his officers, Paragal Khan and his son Chute Khan, the Mahabharata was translated by Kavindra Parameswar and Srikarna Nandi. One more poet who received his patronage was Jesoraj Khan (king of fame). Most probably he received his title from the Sultan.[36] His ministers Rup and Sanatan were great poets themselves.[37]

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33. D. C. Sen : History of the Bengali Language and Literature, p. 279, 202, and 204.
34. Brindaban Das. op cit.
    Krishna Das Kabiraj, op cit.
35. Krishna Das Kabiraj, op cit p. 230.
36. Bangiya Shahitya Parishad Patrika, Vol, 38 and 44.
37 *Ibid.*

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